

Chambers's Educational Course

CONTINUED.

Arithmetic and Mathematics.

	s.	d.
Arithmetic, Introduction to. *New and Extended Edition; with Exercises on the Decimal Coinage*	1	0
Arithmetic: Theoretical and Practical; *with Exercises on the Decimal Coinage*	2	0
Key to Arithmetic	2	0
Book-Keeping by S. and D. Entry	2	0
——— by Single Entry	1	0
———, two Ruled Paper Books for Single Entry	1	3
Book-keeping, two Ruled Paper Books for Double Entry	1	3
Algebra. *New Edition*	3	6
Key to Algebra.....*do*	2	6
Exercises and Problems in Algebra, with the Answers	2	6
Exercises and Problems in Algebra, without the Answers	1	0
Plane Geometry	2	6
Key to Plane Geometry	2	0
Solid and Spherical Geometry	2	0
Practical Mathematics. *New Edition*	6	6
Key to Practical Mathematics, *do*	4	6
Mathematical Tables	3	0

Science.

	s.	d.
Sciences, Introduction to the	1	0
Matter and Motion, Laws of	0	10
Mechanics	0	10
Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, &c	0	10
Acoustics	1	0
Optics	1	0
Astronomy	1	0
Electricity	1	0
Meteorology	1	0
Natural Philosophy, Volume I	3	0
———, Volume II	3	0
ILLUSTRATIONS OF SCIENCE. Prepared for W. and R. CHAMBERS by A. K. Johnston. Designed to illustrate Natural Philosophy, &c., mounted with rollers and cloth to hang on the walls of School-rooms; namely—1. Properties of Bodies.—2. Mechanical Powers.—3. Hydrostatics.—4. Hydraulics.—5. Physiology (*in preparation*).—These Sheets are accompanied with Diagrams and Descriptive Books, each	10	0

And may be had varnished, at 2s. additional.

	s.	d.
Chemistry—New Treatise. By G. Wilson, M.D., F.R.S.E.	3	0

Science.

	s.	d.
Geology	2	6
Zoology. *New and Improved Edition*	3	6
Animal Physiology	1	6
Vegetable Physiology	1	6
Political Economy	2	0

Latin.

Illustrated with copious English Notes and Prefaces.

	s.	d.
Ruddiman's Rudiments of the Latin Tongue	0	10
Latin Grammar, Elementary	2	0
———, Advanced	3	6
Latin Exercises, Elementary	1	3
———, Advanced	2	0
Key to Advanced Latin Exercises	2	0
Phædrus's Fables	1	6
Nepos	2	6
Cæsar	2	6
Sallust	2	0
Quintus Curtius	3	6
Ovid	3	6
Horace	3	6
Virgil. *New Edition*, Vol. I.; containing the Bucolics and First Six Books of the Æneid	3	6
Virgil. *New Edition*, Vol. II.; containing the last Six Books of the Æneid, and Georgics; with a copious *Index Nominum et Rerum*	3	6
Virgil. *First Edition, in one volume*	4	6
Livy	4	0
Cicero	3	6
Latin and English Dictionary	9	0
——— Latin-English Part. *New Edition*	5	0
——— English-Latin Part	4	6

German.

Edited by Dr Aue, German Master in the High School of Edinburgh.

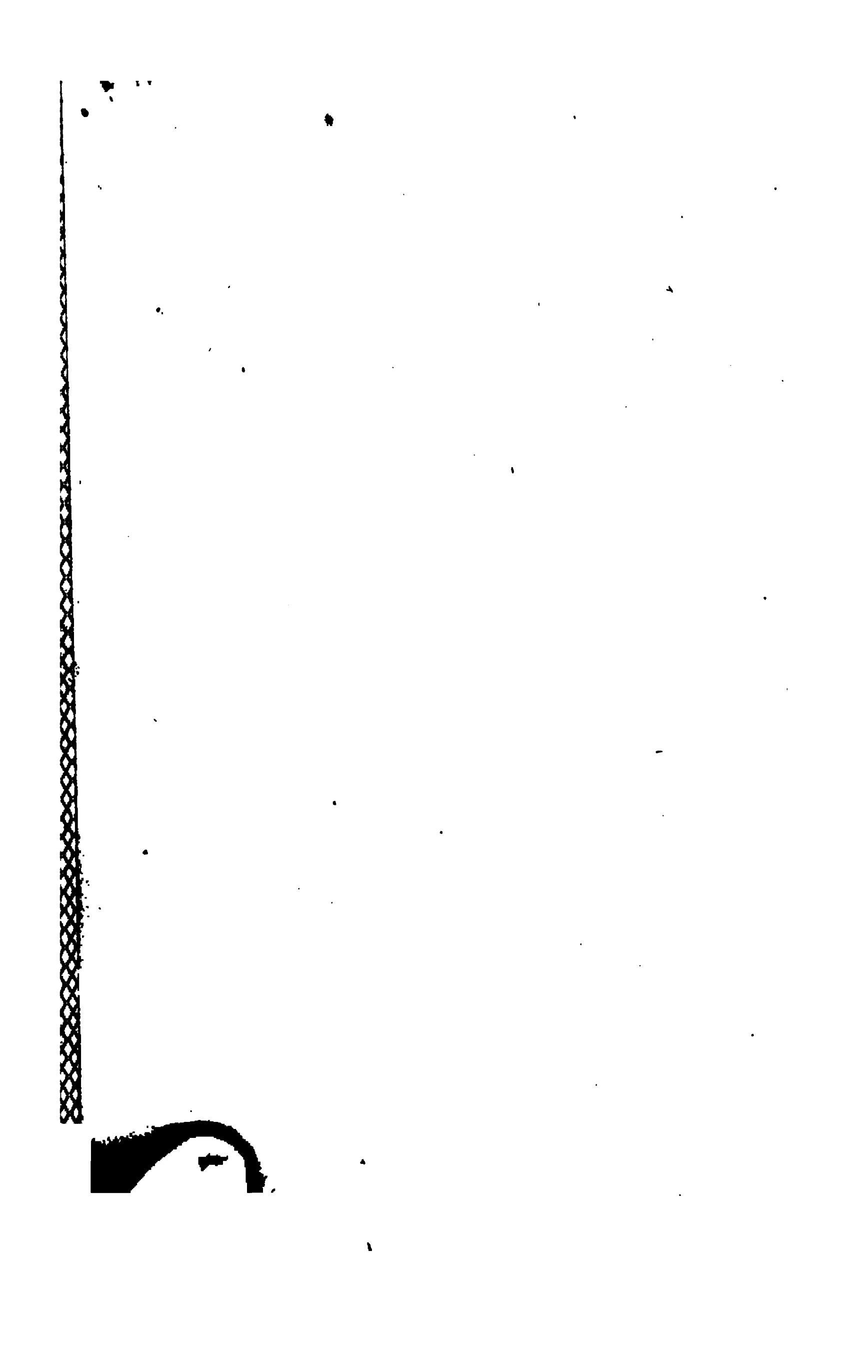
	s.	d.
First German Reading Book	2	0
Second German Reading Book	3	0
German Grammar, Elementary	2	0
———, Advanced	3	6
Phrase-Book, English-German	2	0
German and English Dictionary	10	6
——— German-English Part	5	0
——— English-German Part	6	0
German Synonyms, Dictionary of	2	6

Music.

	s.	d.
Manual of Music	3	0

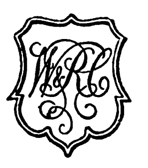
*** Other Works in preparation.—*August* 1855.

W. and R. CHAMBERS, 47 Paternoster Row, London, and 339 High Street, Edinburgh.



CHAMBERS'S EDUCATIONAL COURSE—EDITED BY W. AND R. CHAMBERS.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY



LONDON
W. AND R. CHAMBERS 47 PATERNOSTER ROW
AND HIGH STREET EDINBURGH
1855

Edinburgh :
Printed by W. and R. Chambers.







PREFACE.

The difficulty, in such a compendium as the present, is to combine completeness and accuracy with something like spirit and interest in the narration. In the following pages, an attempt has been made to overcome this difficulty. The compiler, accordingly, trusts that, while there is no historical name or event of any importance belonging to the period embraced, to which the necessary reference will not be found in its proper place in the volume, and with the date accurately attached, yet, on the other hand, the volume, as a whole, will not be found to be a mere chronological skeleton, or dry handbook. His principle, in preparing it, has been, as far as possible, to omit nothing, but to vary the proportion of space assigned to different events, persons, and nations. Where the facts related are neither very important historically, nor invested with rich associations, they are presented in a condensed form; but wherever a really great event or a heroic name occurs, there the narrative is made more full and particular. For a similar reason, care has been taken throughout to exhibit individual names and facts in connection with the general tendency and movement of society underneath. One entire chapter has been devoted to a survey of Feudal Society; and the subject of Art, Science, and Literature during the Middle Ages, has been treated connectedly by itself in a Supplementary Chapter. This last, it is believed, will be found a new feature in such a volume.

Without pretending to the merit of original investigation, the

compiler can say that the materials of the volume have been diligently gathered from many sources. Besides the standard work of Gibbon, the more recent productions of Guizot, Michelet, Hallam, and others, have been consulted, and some of their views embodied in the text. The plan and arrangement of the work are the compiler's own.

As, in the series to which this volume belongs, there is another devoted expressly to *The History of the British Empire*, it may be well to say, that the History of Great Britain has been here included only in so far as seemed necessary for the sake of the context.

CONTENTS.



MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

DISSOLUTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AND FOUNDATION OF MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.

1. AFTER the death of the Emperor Theodosius, in the year 395, the Roman Empire, which had already existed four centuries, was divided into two parts—the Latin Empire, or Empire of the West, the capital of which was Rome; and the Greek Empire, or Empire of the East, the capital of which was Constantinople. The Eastern Empire, as being the more important, was inherited by Arcadius, the elder son of Theodosius; the Western was assigned to his younger son, Honorius.

2. According to a system which had prevailed since the time of Constantine, the two empires were divided for administrative purposes into *Prefectures*, *Dioceses*, and *Provinces*, as follows:—

I. THE LATIN, or WESTERN EMPIRE, contained two prefectures—the PREFECTURE OF ITALY, and the PREFECTURE OF GAUL. The Prefecture of Italy comprehended three dioceses—namely, 1. *The Diocese of Italy Proper*, subdivided into seventeen provinces; 2. *The Diocese of Western Illyricum*, subdivided into six provinces; 3. *The Diocese of Africa*, subdivided into six provinces. The Prefecture of Gaul, also, comprehended three dioceses—namely, 1. *The Diocese of Gaul Proper*, subdivided into seventeen provinces; 2. *The Diocese of Spain*, subdivided into seven provinces; 3. *The Diocese of Britain*, subdivided into five provinces.

II. THE GREEK, or EASTERN EMPIRE, contained two prefectures—the PREFECTURE OF THE EAST, and the

PREFECTURE OF ILLYRICUM. The Prefecture of the East comprehended five dioceses —namely, 1. *The Diocese of Thrace*, subdivided into six provinces; 2. *The Diocese of Asia*, subdivided into eleven provinces; 3. *The Diocese of Pontus*, subdivided into eleven provinces; 4. *The Diocese of the East*, subdivided into fifteen provinces; 5. *The Diocese of Egypt*, subdivided into six provinces. The Prefecture of Illyricum comprehended only two dioceses—namely, 1. *The Diocese of Macedonia*, subdivided into six provinces; 2. *The Diocese of Dacia*, subdivided into five provinces.

The Latin Empire, therefore, contained in all six dioceses and fifty-eight provinces; the Greek Empire contained seven dioceses and sixty provinces. Each of the thirteen dioceses, into which the whole domain of the Roman power was thus divided, was as large as an ordinary modern kingdom.

3. At the head of each prefecture, whether in the East or in the West, was an officer styled Pretorian Prefect; the pretorian prefects of Italy and Gaul deriving their authority from the imperial court at Rome, and those of the West deriving theirs from the imperial court at Constantinople. Subordinate to these pretorian prefects were the governors of the dioceses, called Vicars or Vice-Prefects, also appointed directly by the emperors whom they served. Finally, in each of the provinces there ruled a dignitary named either President or Consular, inferior in rank to the diocesan, but not solely responsible to him. The president of a province resided in the chief town of his province; and, besides his personal retinue, which was as large as the court of a modern sovereign, he had a great number of civil functionaries directly depending on him, and managing the affairs of the province in his name. All these functionaries, including the presidents themselves, were chosen from the profession of the law, and were quite distinct from the military servants of the emperors, who were likewise distributed through the provinces.

4. Though subject to one plan of civil government, the two empires presented many points of social contrast. In the Latin Empire, as its name indicates, the Latin genius and habits predominated; that part of the world having received its first lessons in civilisation from Roman teachers and Roman armies. In the Greek Empire, on the other hand, Greek habits of thought and feeling were more apparent; that part of the world having, at a very early period, been colonised and subjugated by the Greeks so effectually, that its subsequent conquest by the Romans was followed by very little intellectual change. The Latin language, indeed, was the legal or official language over

both empires; but while, in the West, this language was also the vehicle of instruction and the medium of communication between learned men, in the East the sole literary language was the Greek.

5. Nor was it only between the two empires, each regarded as a whole, that such differences were discernible. Viewing the empires severally, scarcely any two provinces, and certainly no two dioceses of either, could have been found socially alike. In peculiarities of physiognomy, dress, manners, and language, there was a prevalent difference, giving a very mixed character to the population.

6. Whatever were the social features in any part of the two empires, there universally prevailed one recognised rule or system of gradation. In each province, whether Greek or Latin, four classes of persons were legally distinguishable—the senators or senatorial class; the curiales or municipals; the common people; and the slaves. (1.) *The senators and their families.*—This order, which constituted a kind of civil aristocracy or peerage in each empire, consisted of those who had been raised by imperial favour to seats in the senate; those of the Western Empire, to seats in the Roman senate; those of the Eastern Empire, to seats in the senate of Constantinople. All such persons were entitled to the appellation of *Clarissimi* or 'Most Honourable'—which, however, was but the fourth of the grades of nobility in use—the higher titles of *Spectabiles* or 'Notable,' *Illustres* or 'Illustrious,' and *Nobilissimi* or 'Most Noble,' being reserved for certain of the great officers of state conspicuous among the senators themselves. Among the solid advantages enjoyed by the senators and their families, were exemption from torture, and the right to be tried by special tribunals. Numerically, they formed but a small fraction of the population of any province. (2.) *The curiales or municipals.*—In this order were comprised all such inhabitants of towns as, not belonging to the senatorial order, possessed landed property to the extent of twenty-five jugera. They were called curiales, because it was upon them that the functions of the *curiæ*, or municipal magistracies in the various towns, devolved. Although thus invested with a nominal dignity, and ostensibly in easy circumstances, their lot was a very hard one. Their acceptance of office was compulsory; no inhabitant of a town, who was possessed of the necessary property-qualification, being allowed to escape his share in the administration of the municipal business. All deficiencies in the revenue of a town, and all liabilities as regarded the land-tax due to the imperial treasury, had to be made good by the general body of the

curiales. No curiale was allowed to leave his town, even for a short period, without permission from the provincial governor. Burdened with such risks and restrictions, in exchange for which they had a few meagre civil privileges, the curiales hated their social position, and were constantly endeavouring to alter it. So numerous were the desertions from this order, that it would soon have become extinct, but for severe laws passed to perpetuate it—laws prohibiting the curiales from disposing of their property without permission, and from entering the army or the church. Still, the order rapidly decreased over the whole empire; so that even in the largest cities of Italy and Spain—as Padua and Milan, Seville and Tarragona—hardly a hundred persons of the rank of curiales were to be found towards the close of the fourth century. (3.) *The common people.*—Under this head were included all those provincials who, ranking below the curiales, were still personally free, and capable of maintaining themselves. A portion of this class consisted of petty landholders—that is, of landholders possessing less than twenty-five jugera. By far the greater proportion, however, consisted of free artisans, living in towns and villages. In the earlier ages of the Roman Commonwealth, there had not existed any such class of free artisans or mechanics; all mechanical operations—as weaving, shoemaking, carpentry, &c.—having been then performed by the members of a family for itself, if it were a poor one, or by slave-workmen attached to the family, if it were a rich one. Rich citizens had also frequently employed their slaves in producing commodities for sale. But this arrangement gradually ceased. A free artisan-class had by degrees sprung up in Roman society; and at the period with which we are now concerned, a large part of the community of every province consisted of tradesmen and mechanics, such as compose the bulk of our modern town-populations—weavers, tailors, masons, carpenters, wheelwrights, shoemakers, saddlers, blacksmiths, &c.—living humbly on their well-earned wages. (4.) *The slaves.*—In this numerous order, two classes of persons are to be distinguished: the domestic slaves, and the rural slaves. All wealthy families, whether of the senatorial or the curial order, maintained at least one or two domestic slaves, to perform household services. The treatment experienced by such slaves varied, of course, with the temper and the circumstances of their owners: in general, however, the condition of domestic slaves under the Empire, especially after the establishment of Christianity, was superior to what it had been under the Republic. The rural or agricultural slaves were of various denominations and grades—*coloni*, *rustici*, *tributarii*, and *ascriptitii*. Some

were merely domestic slaves, sent out occasionally to work in the fields; some were real serfs, bought and sold with the land; some were almost on a level with free labourers, and were paid wages; some even cultivated patches of ground on their own account, and paid rent.

7. There is abundant evidence that, at the close of the fourth century, the society of the Roman world, thus classified and constituted, was tending towards corruption and decrepitude. This fact is variously accounted for: some attributing it to a supposed general law of decline affecting societies, as well as individuals, when they attain a certain period of existence; others, to what they call the progress of luxury. Among the real causes of the decay, however, may be mentioned two of a more tangible character—the systematic oppression of the curiales all over the empire by bad laws, and the universal prevalence of slave-labour. The effects of the former of these causes, in paralysing the energies and diminishing the numbers of that most important section in every community—the middle or moderately wealthy class—have already been pointed out. The results of the system of slave-labour were similar. Wherever that system was pursued on a large scale, the consequences, as in modern times, were general impoverishment and distress. Into how miserable a state agriculture had fallen in the empire under the influence of this system, persevered in as it had been for centuries, may be inferred from such facts as these—that the Emperor Pertinax (193 A.D.) had exempted from taxes for ten years all who should occupy deserted lands in Italy or in any of the provinces; that various succeeding emperors had found it necessary to colonise vacant portions of the empire with barbarians from Germany; and that, at the beginning of the fifth century, there were lying untilled in Campagna the Happy, the most fertile district of the Roman domain, as many as 330,000 acres.

8. Amid the universal decay, however, with which the fabric of Roman society was thus afflicted, there was one element of vigorous and energetic life. This was the element of Christian ecclesiastical rule, independent of the course of civil procedure, and yet powerfully influencing it. The introduction and spread of Christianity gave an entirely new character to the ancient communities within the Roman Empire. The old paganisms, with their cruel rites, disappeared; and, coming in their place, the beneficent doctrines of the Gospel, besides morally improving, stimulated the intellectual energies of mankind. As the accompaniment of this change, there had sprung up a new system of social organisation—that of the Christian

Church, which was extended over the empire under the special administration of bishops and of pastors or clergy.

9. Expecting civil protection from their provincial governors, the inhabitants of the Roman world now looked for spiritual direction and consolation to men learned, and for the most part aged, of devout and exemplary lives, acknowledging themselves the servants, ecclesiastically at least, of no other master than the unseen Lord of the universe. Nor was the influence of the clergy wholly spiritual in its nature. Accustomed, from the earliest times, to act as judges and arbiters between such members of their flocks as had civil disputes to settle, their right to exercise this kind of function had been at length sanctioned by imperial authority. It devolved on them, likewise, in many cases—as, for example, in interceding for the lives of condemned criminals—to come into contact with the civil magistrates. Moreover, the secular power of wealth began, after the reign of Constantine, to be added to the purely ecclesiastical influence of the clergy. Supported till then chiefly by the voluntary contributions of the faithful, the clergy now began to acquire a fixed property, consisting partly of special grants from the state, partly of the accumulated gifts or bequests of pious individuals. And, finally, tending in a similar way to the exaltation of the civil status of the clergy, were certain privileges with which they were at the same time invested—such as exemption from particular taxes, and from the liability to serve in the army.

10. A step of considerable importance in the development of the external system of the Christian Church, was the institution of the office of metropolitan or archbishop. It was generally in towns that churches were first planted, and the large towns especially had been the centres whence Christianity had been diffused into the rural districts. Hence a kind of dependence came in many places to be recognised between the bishops of metropolitan sees and the bishops of the surrounding rural districts—a dependence which many circumstances tended to confirm. At length, therefore, an idea of superiority began to be connected with the name of metropolitan, or metropolitan bishop; and as in each province of the empire there was one chief civil governor, the president or consular, so it was thought fitting that in each province the metropolitan bishop should be regarded as the ecclesiastical chief or primate. By a further extension of the same process, it became gradually common to invest the bishops, or metropolitans of certain of the large capital cities of the empire, with higher notions of power and dignity than were accorded to the others. Thus, in the

Western Empire, the historical splendour and the political importance of their respective sees, gave to the bishops of Rome, Milan, and Carthage, a certain acknowledged pre-eminence over the rest of the metropolitans; while, in the East, the same causes conferred peculiar honour on the bishops of Constantinople, Ephesus, Antioch, and Alexandria. In token of this special reverence for the bishops of these great metropolitan sees, they were sometimes styled patriarchs, or exarchs; the title of patriarch being assigned more particularly to the four highest bishops in the Christian world—those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. This tendency to a gradation of ranks in the church was, however, slow and gradual; nor did it go on with the same rapidity in all parts of the empire. As energetic presbyters sometimes acted independently of bishops, or in defiance of them, so bishops frequently refused to recognise the authority of their metropolitans; and it was but a modified and voluntary allegiance that the metropolitans of the provinces paid to the patriarch-bishops of the great capitals. The system of the hierarchy was not formally schemed out or defined; much was left to be decided by custom, and according to the necessity of the occasion.

11. While the organisation of the church for the purposes of executive government was thus framed very much after the model of the civil system of the empire, there was one feature in the procedure of the church peculiar to itself. This was the practice of holding synods or assemblies of the clergy for deliberative purposes. When an important controversy arose in a district, regarding a point of faith or discipline, it was customary for the clergy of that district to meet and settle it by their common consultation and advice; and as the church was extended and established, such meetings became more regular. Hence, in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, a great number of provincial, of national, and of œcumenical or general councils: provincial councils, being meetings of the clergy of a particular province, held periodically, or by special summons; national councils, meetings of the most distinguished bishops of a whole country, as Gaul or Africa, held on particular national emergencies; and general or œcumenical councils, meetings of the great ecclesiastics of a few contiguous countries, or of a large section of the whole empire, assembled at critical periods by requisitions of the clergy themselves, or by imperial order. The decisions of these councils, and especially of the national and the œcumenical councils, on points of doctrine and government, constituted a body of laws or precedents which the church came to regard as binding on its future members. Perhaps the most important of all the general

councils of the church during the Empire, was the famous Council of Nicæa, in Asia Minor, convened in 325 A.D. by the Emperor Constantine. At this council, which was attended by 318 bishops from different parts of the Christian world, a public and solemn sentence of reprobation was passed against the doctrines of the Arians—a class of theologians who, with their master Arius, an African priest, denied the divinity of Christ in the same sense in which it was understood by the majority of Christians. Although Arianism still continued to prevail in many parts of the church, it was from that time regarded as a condemned heresy, and those who held it were accounted schismatics.

12. Having thus taken a survey, political and ecclesiastical, of the state of Roman society at the date of the separation of the two empires, we must next turn our attention to those barbaric regions of Europe lying beyond the pale of Roman civilisation, from which the destruction of this highly organised system of society, and its reconstruction in new forms, were to proceed.

13. In the time of Julius Cæsar, there were three barbaric regions of Europe lying beyond the limits of the Roman Empire—the *Celtic* or *Gallic Region*, including the present countries of France, Great Britain, and Ireland; the *Germanic* or *Teutonic Region*, including the parts of the continent lying between the Rhine and the Vistula, together with the Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and the *Slavonic* or *Scythian Region*, extending eastward from the confines of the Germanic region, over the modern countries of Russia, Poland, Eastern Austria, &c.

14. THE CELTS.—In the interval which had elapsed between the period of Julius Cæsar and that with which we are now concerned, the whole of the Celtic region, with the exception of Northern Scotland and Ireland, had been gradually annexed to the empire; and its inhabitants, thoroughly subdued and civilised, had been incorporated with the general mass of Roman society, still retaining, however, those qualities for which, in its barbaric condition, the Celtic race had been remarkable—a light gaiety of disposition, love of excitement, irascibility, inquisitiveness, fondness for talking and banter, quickness of perception, and want of steadiness and perseverance. Naturally one of the most sympathetic and perfectible of races, and more versatile and clever than the Italians who had conquered them, if not so grave and steady, the Celts had no sooner partaken of the Roman civilisation, and become Roman provincials,

than they competed with the Italians themselves for the various honours and dignities of the Roman world. Many of the most distinguished men of the empire—whether as generals, physicians, lawyers, theologians, poets, or rhetoricians—were natives of Gaul; nor did Britain want names of similar note. On the whole, therefore, it may be said, that by absorbing the Celtic race, Roman society had increased its vitality considerably, and prolonged the period of its duration. But as no more of it remained to be absorbed, with the exception of the rude Pictish and Scottish tribes of Northern Scotland and Ireland, who were too insignificant in numbers to produce any general effect, no further supply of strength was to be looked for from that quarter.

15. The Germans.—To the east of the Celtic region of Europe, there had dwelt from remote antiquity a great people, differing much from the Celts in character and manners, and known as the Teutons or Germans. To determine when they settled there, or from what quarter they came, is not easy; it is generally believed, however, that, like the Celts, they were emigrants from Western or Central Asia; and considerations relating to their language and customs, prove that originally they were connected by some close affinity with the ancient Persians.

16. If we except the Greek or Hellenic race, no race of the world appears to have been so richly gifted by nature as the Germans. Though their existence was known to the civilised nations of the Mediterranean a century or two before the Christian era, it was not till the time of Julius Cæsar that much attention was directed towards them. During Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, he had frequent engagements with bands of German invaders, who crossed the Rhine to molest his favourite Celts; and by many of his imperial successors, serious attempts were made to subdue the Germanic tribes of Central Europe, and annex Germany, as Gaul had been annexed, to the dominion of Rome. These efforts, however, were fruitless; some frontier tribes were subdued, but the mass of the Germanic peoples remained dangerous and troublesome enemies on the northern boundary of the empire; and it was only by employing them in the Roman armies, particularly as cavalry regiments, and by ceding them vacant lands, that the emperors were able to prevent their irruptions.

17. In their first conflicts with the Germans, the conquerors of the world were not a little surprised by the stature and prowess of these new enemies. The Celts, like the Romans, were dark-skinned men, of from five feet four inches to five feet ten inches high—the Romans being probably the

more muscular. But here were men different from both—huge, light-haired warriors, with ruddy faces, blue eyes, and stalwart limbs, many of them upwards of six feet, and few of them under five feet eight inches in height. It was not without difficulty that Cæsar convinced his legions, that the same courage and discipline which had defeated the southern nations could also defeat these gigantic northerns.

18. Morally and intellectually, as well as physically, the Germans differed alike from the Romans and the Celts. As intrepid and as fond of fighting as either, they appear to have possessed a sense of personal independence, and a restless craving for free activity, such as no other race ever exhibited. Frankness, good-humour, and a kind of awkward bashfulness, when not excited, were their common characteristics. Falsehood and deceit were the vices they held in greatest abhorrence. Their mirth was different from that of the southern nations—more boisterous, riotous, and hearty, and less clear and sparkling. On the other hand, they were subject to a deep mystic melancholy, unknown to the men of the south. The qualities known as humour and sentimentalism, may be said to have been contributed to the modern European character by the German races. Their worst fault—a fault which even yet distinguishes the Germanic from the Celtic and Latin peoples—was their propensity to eat and drink to excess. Their feasts, which sometimes lasted for several days, were scenes of the grossest revelry; and as their warriors competed with each other in the field for the reputation of valour, so at home they contended who could drink the greatest quantity of strong beer before falling down in the stupor of drunkenness. Among no other ancient people did the women occupy so high a social position as among the Germans. At home, all the drudgery of household labour devolved on them; but they were not kept under restraint, as women were among the Greeks and Romans; they enjoyed the same personal freedom as the men; they sometimes fought in battle by their sides; they tended and healed the wounded; and they were listened to in the councils of the tribes. Many of them were subject to a species of frenzy, which caused them to be regarded as prophetesses.

19. Much of the peculiar character of the Germans—a character which, in its intellectual aspect, may be summed up in the word *ideality*—seems to have been determined by the physical condition of the region they inhabited. Germany Proper appears to have been originally one vast tract of forest, such as met the first settlers in America. A race of hunters, living in the gloom, or on the skirts of huge forests, and

chasing daily the buffalo, the bison, the elk, and the wild boar, through miles of oak, ash, alder, and pine trees, under whose overarching branches they could ride at full speed—such were the ancient Germans. Of towns and villages, there were none in Germany; consequently, there were no roads or bridges. Here and there, at close intervals through the forest, was a hut, with a cleared space round it, sometimes cultivated, and sometimes not; a few roods off, stood the outposts of the forest, into whose gloomy recesses branched winding pathways leading to other habitations. At the blast of a horn, a band of these sons of the forest would assemble at a fixed spot, to engage in pastime, or to go out on a warlike adventure. Living in such circumstances, listening, as it were, incessantly to the mysterious whisperings of the forest, it is not wonderful that the Germans contracted that deep sense of the supernatural which distinguished them from the Latins.

20. The religion of the ancient Germans was a reflection of their moral and intellectual peculiarities. Originally, it seems to have been a kind of Fetichism. Trees, fountains, solitary stones on heaths, the sun, the moon, the stars, the winds, and the earth itself, were all adored and prayed to. Combined with this original Fetichism, and perhaps developed out of it, was a belief in various gods, with good or evil attributes; the highest of these imaginary deities being Odin, who in this respect corresponds with the Jupiter of the Greek mythology. This religion of the ancient Germans appears to have originated in Scandinavia; and our knowledge of it is derived chiefly from the *Eddas*, a collection of old Scandinavian legends, compiled in Iceland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

21. Passing next to the social and political arrangements of the Germans, we find, in the first place, that the nation may be conveniently considered as having been at that time divided into two great sections—the SUEVI, or SUEVIC GERMANS, corresponding with what are now called the High-German populations, and occupying the eastern portions of the Germanic region, from the Baltic towards the Carpathians, including, however, modern Sweden; and the NON-SUEVI, or NON-SUEVIC GERMANS, corresponding with the Low-German populations, and occupying the western portions of the Germanic region—namely, Denmark, the left bank of the Rhine, and the right bank of the same river as far as the Elbe, or further. Each of these denominations comprised a great number of different tribes or nations, of which the following deserve special notice:—I. SUEVIC NATIONS. (1.) *The Goths.*—

The original home of this people was in Sweden and Norway; but towards the close of the second century, they migrated southwards into the Slavonian region of Europe, conquering the natives, and settling on the extensive tract between the Vistula, the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Don. Here they became divided into two leading branches—the Visigoths, or Western Goths, inhabiting the western portions of the aforesaid tract, between the Vistula, the Danube, and the Borysthenes; and the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Goths, inhabiting the eastern portions, between the Borysthenes, the Black Sea, and the Don. The Goths, both eastern and western, proved very troublesome neighbours to the Romans of the Danubian provinces; and in the year 274, the Emperor Aurelian was glad to abandon Dacia to their dominion. In the fourth century, accordingly, a large proportion of the inhabitants of the Dacian diocese were Goths. Of all the Germanic nations, the Goths were the first to embrace Christianity, which was diffused among them by Arian missionaries from Thrace and Asia Minor. (2.) *The Burgundians.*—This was a small Suevic nation, whose settlements were on the Baltic coast, immediately west of those of the Goths. (3.) *The Alemanni.*—During the third century, the Romans first became aware of the existence of a confederacy of Suevic tribes under this name (*Alemanni*, or 'All-men'), inhabiting the territories between the Danube, the Rhine, the Necker, and the Maine, whence they made inroads into the northern provinces of the empire. (4.) *The Suevi Proper.*—This nation was closely connected with the Alemanni, and situated immediately to the east of them. (5.) *The Vandals.*—They dwelt originally to the north-east of the Alemanni, between the Elbe and the Vistula; but proving troublesome by their inroads into Gaul, they had been permitted, in the reign of Constantine the Great, to settle in Pannonia, and other parts of the diocese of Western Illyricum. II. Non-Suevic Nations. (1.) *The Franks.*—This was a confederacy of Low-German tribes—the Chauci, the Sicambri, the Chamavi, the Bructeri, the Calti, &c.—occupying the country between the Rhine, the Maine, the Weser, and the Elbe. The confederation had been formed in the third century; and the name *Franks*, or 'Free-men,' chosen to designate it, indicated the barbaric love of liberty by which the tribes were distinguished. So formidable did the confederacy become, that the Romans learned to look on 'Francia,' as its territories were called, with feelings of foreboding and alarm. Towards the end of the fourth century, it broke up into two sections—the *Salii*, or *Salian Franks*, who, living to the west and south,

were more exposed to Roman influence; and the *Ripuarii*, or *Ripuarian Franks*, settled on the right bank of the Lower Rhine. The origin of the names *Salii* and *Ripuarii* is somewhat obscure. (2.) *The Angles and Saxons*, sometimes amalgamated under the name *Anglo-Saxons*.—Their original seats were in the southern parts of the Danish peninsula. Unable, in consequence of their distance, to make incursions by land into the Roman provinces, they were accustomed to lead piratic expeditions into the Northern Sea, and along the British Channel; and in the fourth and fifth centuries, the coasts of Gaul and Britain were infested by Anglic and Saxon freebooters.

22. While, as in the case of the Franks and in that of the Alemanni, contiguous German tribes were frequently aggregated into nations or federal unions, each petty tribe, nevertheless, remained independent in the management of its own affairs. The chief civil authority was vested in a kind of committee of seniors, three, four, ten, or twelve in number, chosen by all the freemen; but all business of importance was openly transacted in the *Thing*, or General Council, of the whole tribe, which assembled on stated occasions, and usually at night, at some fixed spot marked out by a great tree. For the purposes of war, the young men of a tribe formed themselves into voluntary bands or companionships, electing some illustrious warrior as their leader. To this leader they yielded in the field the most implicit obedience, and if he were killed, it was accounted disgraceful to survive him; but when the fighting was over, no difference of rank was recognised between the chief and his comrades. When a tribe was too populous, it was customary to detach a band of young warriors to conquer lands for itself.

23. THE SLAVONIANS.—Very different from the Germans or Teutons of Central Europe, and probably much more numerous, were their eastern neighbours, the Slaves or Slavonians, the ancestors of the modern Russians, Poles, and others. They appear to have been an aboriginal race of Eastern Europe, and to have had from the first a great antipathy to the Germans, which these latter reciprocated. The Greeks distinguished them by the name of *Henetoi;* the Romans called them *Venetæ;* the Germans named them *Wenden* or *Vanar;* and the appellation by which they styled themselves was *Sirbi* or *Serbi*. The name Slavonians is comparatively recent, and is supposed to be derived either from the native word *slava*, which means 'glory,' or from the native word *slovo*, which means 'speech.' The original territories of the Slavonic race appear to have been very extensive. Thrace, Dacia, Mœsia, and other countries in the broad tract between the Black Sea

and the Adriatic, were probably at first inhabited by nations of the Slavonic stock, afterwards conquered and modified by Greeks and Romans; and the very name of the Venetians indicates their primeval Slavic origin. The great region of modern Russia and Poland, however, lying between the Baltic, the Vistula, and the Danube on the west, and the Volga and Uralian Mountains on the east, was, from the dawn of historic times, the special home of the Slavonic family. Here they were divided, like the Germans, into innumerable tribes and nations, some of them possessing considerable villages.

24. In the time of Herodotus, who describes the Slavonians, along with the Tatars, under the common name of Scythians, they were partly agricultural in their habits, but chiefly pastoral and nomadic, keeping large breeds of horses and cattle, and roaming from one encampment to another along the banks of streams. In later times, they were more stationary, and more industrial in their habits. Individually, they were a tall and finely-formed race of men—not so stalwart as the Germans, but superior in strength and stature to the Celts or the Italians. Their complexions were darker than those of the Germans; their eyes were small, and deeply sunk; their hair dark-brown or reddish, but not black. They were less cleanly than the Germans, and less frank and vehement in their disposition. Brave in battle, extremely cunning, and particularly successful in ambuscades, they were, on the whole, a mild and industrious people, kind and hospitable to strangers, and not cruel even to their captives. Their women did not hold the same high social position as the women of the Germans; and it was customary for Slavonian widows to be sacrificed at the funerals of their husbands. Their language, which was nearly identical over the whole vast region occupied by them, was rich, flexible, and highly organised in regard to grammar. Like the Germans, they were believers in a number of gods; but their mythology was of a wilder kind, and somewhat more eastern in character.

25. At an early period in the history of the Slavonians, they are seen separated spontaneously into three masses or fragments—one fragment corresponding to the present *Russians* or *Muscovites*, and occupying nearly the same territories; another going by the name of *Lekhs*, and embracing the Slavonian tribes lying further south and west, corresponding to the modern Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians or Little Russians, and Bulgarians; and the third, calling themselves *Tchekhs* or *Czechs*, and comprehending the most southern of the Slavonian tribes, now known under various names—as Bohemians, Croats, Slowaks, and Illyrians.

26. A survey has thus been taken, first, of the Roman world, both of the East and West, as it existed towards the close of the fourth century; and secondly, of the barbaric regions of Europe that lay beyond that world. The general result of the survey may be stated thus: On the one hand, surrounding the great basin of the Mediterranean, there existed, in the fourth century of our era, a vast ORGANISED SOCIETY, enfeebled by age, and divided into two parts—the *Latin* or *Western Empire*, with its six dioceses of Italy, Gaul, Britain, Spain, Western Illyricum, and Africa; and the *Greek* or *Eastern Empire*, with its seven dioceses of the East, Egypt, Asia, Pontus, Thrace, Macedonia, and Dacia. On the other hand, beyond the pale of this society, but connected with it by certain partial relations, there existed a great BARBARIC SOCIETY, also divided into two parts—the *Germanic* or *Teutonic* half, geographically adjoining the Western; and the *Scythian* or *Slavonic* half, geographically adjoining the Eastern Empire. Now, the transition out of ancient into modern times consisted in nothing else than the *violent amalgamation of these two societies*—the violent intermixture of the barbaric elements of the one with the civilisation of the other. In this process of amalgamation, however, the whole of the two opposed masses were not engaged at once. Of the Organised Society, it was chiefly the part known as the Western or Latin Empire that was involved, the Eastern or Greek Empire being left in a great measure out of the struggle. So also of the Barbaric Society, it was chiefly the half that was connected geographically with the Latin Empire—namely, the Germanic half—that entered into the contest, the Slavonians being, on the whole, reserved, like their neighbours of the Greek Empire, for a subsequent destiny.

27. The determining cause of the precipitation of the German races on the Latin Empire was, it is well known, the sudden invasion of Europe (375 A.D.) by the Mongolian or Kalmuck nation of the Huns. Subduing the Slavonic region of Europe, and establishing there a Hunnish Empire, which superseded that of its previous conquerors the Goths, these fearful Asiatic invaders produced a violent agitation among the Germanic peoples, and pressed them westward, as it were, in a mass—Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, Suevi, Alemanni, Franks, and Anglo-Saxons, all together. The detailed narration of these agitations produced in Europe by the Huns, and of the consequent irruptions, protracted over a whole century, of the Germanic Empire, sometimes in confederacy, and sometimes singly, into the provinces of the Western Empire, belongs to Roman history. It is sufficient here to view them as completed,

and to exhibit the manner in which the different hosts distributed themselves over the surface of the empire.

28. Viewing the six dioceses of the Latin Empire separately, the aspect of that empire, after the Germanic invasions were concluded—that is, in the latter half of the fifth century—may be represented as follows:—(1.) GAUL.—In this diocese, the effect of successive invasions had been to superinduce upon the native Gallo-Roman population a medley of new ingredients, chiefly Franks, Burgundians, and Visigoths. The *Franks* had established themselves in the parts of the diocese which now constitute Belgium, and the north-eastern provinces of France; the *Burgundians* had seized the south-eastern districts, afterwards known as Dauphiné, Provence, Lyonnais, &c.; and the *Visigoths* had overrun the southern provinces, from the Loire to the Pyrenees. (2.) SPAIN.—This diocese was overrun at first by three barbaric tribes—the Vandals, the Suevi, and the Alans—these last being a Slavonic tribe, that had come from Eastern Europe in the train of the Vandals. The *Vandals* occupied Bœtica and part of Galicia; the *Suevi* held the rest of Galicia; and the *Alans* were masters of Lusitania and Carthagena. Subsequently, however, the *Visigoths*, crossing the Pyrenees from Gaul, subdued all the three, and sought to convert Spain into a Visigothic kingdom, in which they and the other conquerors should predominate over the Romano-Carthaginian-Iberian natives. (3.) AFRICA.—The conquerors of this important diocese were the *Vandals*, who, crossing from Spain, made themselves masters, without difficulty, of the native Romano-Carthaginian-Libyan population, from the Pillars of Hercules to Carthage. (4.) ITALY.—Successive invasions had left numerous barbaric deposits among the feeble Latin natives of the central diocese—*Visigoths*, *Franks*, *Vandals*, *Alemanni*, *Huns*, &c. (5.) WESTERN ILLYRICUM.—The addition to the native Romano-Græco-Slavonian population of this diocese consisted chiefly of *Visigoths*—Western Illyricum having been among the first portions of the Western Empire overrun by the Visigothic chieftain, Alaric, in his march from Thrace to Italy. (6.) BRITAIN.—Abandoned by its Roman garrisons as early as the year 410, this island became a prey to the *Anglic* and *Saxon* sea-rovers, whom the native Romanised Britons were obliged to call in to defend them against the Picts and Scots of the northern districts. The Britons, from the Channel to the Firths of Forth and Clyde, were speedily subdued by the new-comers; and those of them that would not submit, sought refuge either among the Welsh mountains, or on the northern coasts of Gaul. Brittany, in

France, derives its name from the great number of British refugees that at this time settled there.

29. Thus, everywhere over the surface of the Western Empire, the two societies—the civilised and the barbaric—were brought together, and commingled. Were we, however, to measure the extent of the revolution effected merely by the number of barbarians thus diffused over the empire, it would not seem so important as it really was. The largest of the invading bands did not exceed 5000 or 6000 in number; the entire nation of the Burgundians contained but 60,000 men. In each of the conquered dioceses, therefore, the Roman natives still remained an overwhelming majority. But it is not so much the number of men, as the way in which they distribute themselves, that is of consequence in an invasion. By seizing the towns and fortresses, by occupying the chief roads and passes, by breaking down bridges, and by establishing armed posts at suitable intervals, a comparatively small force is able thoroughly to overcome and govern a large surface of inhabited country. And this was the mode of the Germanic invasions. For a while, the Germanic colony or garrison would keep together for safety in some central position; but gradually, as the relations between it and the conquered natives became less hostile, it would break up, and send forth new detachments to subdue fresh districts.

30. As soon as this intermixture of the two societies—the Roman or civilised, and the Germanic or barbarian—had taken place, they began to act upon each other. Modern society, in short, is the perfected result of the incorporation of Roman with barbaric society; and it derives ingredients from both. From the barbarians were derived the love of personal liberty, and the sense of individual independence: humour and sentiment, as constituents of character, were also contributed by the Germanic invaders. Their vigorous and imaginative mythology also stimulated and variegated human thought. From the Romans, on the other hand, were derived the forms of a regular and long-established civilisation—the gradation of social ranks; written codes of law, and habits of legal procedure; a confirmed municipal system; educational institutions; a large and diversified literature, with all the glorious traditions and associations embodied and preserved in it. Rude as the barbarians were, these things gained their respect. But more efficient still, as a means of acting on the barbarian conquerors, was the great institute of the Christian Church, which was bound up with the framework of Roman society. Many of the invaders had been Christians by

profession even in their own settlements, having been converted by Roman missionaries; and no sooner were the invasions over, than the Roman clergy—on whom, in the state of civil disorganisation then prevailing, the duty of conducting negotiations between the conquered and the conquerors almost wholly devolved—exerted themselves to the utmost to obtain influence over the rude minds of the new lords of the soil. Their efforts were very successful. The barbarians regarded the clergy of their vassals with superstitious awe, and soon became enthusiastic converts.

31. Among the traditions of Roman society which survived the wreck of that social condition, and exerted a marked influence over the conduct of its destroyers, the most important was that of the unity of the empire. Among the more able and ambitious of these German potentates, there arose a desire, by some means or other, to reunite the separate fragments of the once great empire, and to revive, in their own behalf, the imperial supremacy over the whole of the West. A conspicuous example of the operation of this desire is furnished in the history of one famous German chieftain—Dietrich von Bern, called also Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths.

32. At the time when the Visigoths, under their king, Alaric, left their Danubian settlements, to undertake the invasion of the West (396-400 A.D.), their kinsmen, the Ostrogoths, were obliged to remain on the borders of the Black Sea, a prey to the conquering Huns. On the dissolution, however, of the Hunnish Empire after the death of Attila in 453, they recovered their independence, and became the dominant people in Eastern Europe. The chief instrument of their aggrandisement was the young warrior Dietrich or Theodoric, the son of their king, Theodemir. By wars against the Slavonian tribes, and by aggressions on the provinces of the Greek Empire, this young chief, who, though he had been brought up at Constantinople, whither he had been sent by his father as a hostage, remained quite illiterate, succeeded (475) in establishing a great Ostrogothic kingdom, extending nearly across the space between the Black Sea and the Adriatic. For fourteen years, he ruled over this kingdom as the friend and ally of the Greek Emperor Zeno Isauricus, who, deeming it best to be on good terms with so powerful a neighbour, lavished all kinds of honours on him, and even invested him with the consulship. The goodwill of the emperor, however, was more ostensible than real; and in 488, Theodoric, provoked by some proofs of its insincerity, led his Ostrogoths into Thrace, and laid siege to Constantinople. Zeno, to save himself, is said to have at

this juncture suggested to him the idea of conquering Italy, accompanying the suggestion by ceding to him all his own traditional rights in the government of that portion of the West.

33. The idea pleased the Ostrogoth, and he set out to execute it. Italy was then ruled by a Visigoth or Vandal, named Odoacer, who, having deposed the last of the puppet-emperors of the West in the year 476, had since that time made Ravenna his head-quarters, and acted as sovereign ruler of the motley population of native Italians, Visigoths, Franks, Vandals, Huns, &c., which then possessed the peninsula; pretending, however, to derive his authority from the emperors of the East. Armed with Zeno's permission, Theodoric made war on this vassal-viceroy. The war lasted four years (489-493). The Visigoths of Gaul and Spain sent troops to assist Odoacer. The Ostrogoths, however, were victorious; Ravenna was at length taken (February 493), and Odoacer was put to death. Formally invested with the title of King of Italy by Anastasius I., the successor of Zeno, Theodoric took up his residence at Ravenna. It was not till the year 500 that he visited Rome.

34. Nearly forty years of age when he became master of Italy, Theodoric reigned there thirty-three years, or from 493 to 526. His conduct during this period earned for him the title of 'Great,' with which his name is usually associated. Although so destitute of literary culture, that he could not sign his name, he was a man of large and enlightened views. His aim was to fuse all the inhabitants of Italy—whether Ostrogoths, Germans of other denominations, or native Italians—into one uniform population, governed by equal laws. With this view, he caused to be prepared, in the year 500, a code known as the *Edictum Theodorici*, founded on the existing Roman laws, and indeed almost wholly compiled from them. The Gothic laws of his countrymen were suffered gradually to fall into disuse. Some Gothic customs, however, he formally abolished; and one such innovation—the substitution of personal punishments, such as imprisonment and death for the *wehrgeld*, or system of pecuniary compensation for injuries, prevalent among all the Germanic nations—gave great offence to his Gothic subjects. Among his other merits, was that of solicitude for the education of the people. In his reign, students flocked from all countries to Rome; and some of his enactments bore reference to the manner in which these students should occupy their time, and to the course of their instruction. Though an Arian in creed, like the rest of his Gothic countrymen, Theodoric was not only tolerant but even liberal to the Italian clergy. In particular,

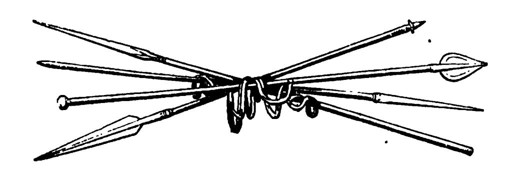
he was on good terms with the clergy of Rome, whom he permitted to manage their ecclesiastical affairs as they chose. His deference to the municipal regulations of Rome and other towns, and to the authority of the senate as the supreme court of justice in his dominions, was equally conspicuous.

35. In the hands of so able a monarch, the scheme of a Germanic reconstruction of the broken empire of the West had some chance of success. In Italy and Illyricum his power was complete and regal; and by means of wars and negotiations, he acquired also considerable influence over the Germanic princes of Gaul and Spain. There even seemed to be a probability, that under his auspices a new Germanic Empire might be founded, on a basis as extensive as that of the Latin Cæsars. Three causes, however, tended to prevent such a result—the inextinguishable jealousy of barbarian rule, that slumbered in the hearts of the native Italians; the Arian creed of Theodoric and the Ostrogoths; and the opposition of the Greek court.

36. It was in the year 522, when Theodoric had reached old age, that these causes began openly to exert their power. In that year, the senator and consul Severinus Boethius, the most able and learned Roman of the time, and who had been till then a special favourite of Theodoric, added to his already numerous literary compositions a book on the doctrine of the Trinity, in which Arianism and other heresies were severely handled. The book gave great offence to the Ostrogoths; and a suspicion arose that a conspiracy had been formed among the Italians, partly on patriotic and partly on religious grounds, for the overthrow of the Ostrogothic dominion, and the establishment of a native and Catholic monarchy in its stead. As a leader in this supposed conspiracy, Boethius was tried and condemned to death. Theodoric, however, was content with throwing him into prison, where he occupied himself in writing his celebrated treatise *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*—the last really classical production in the Latin tongue. Meanwhile, an event occurred which decided his fate. In 523, the Greek emperor, Justin I., who had succeeded Anastasius I., was bold enough to publish a decree proscribing Arianism, and depriving the Arians of their churches. Upon this, Theodoric, whose sympathies were stirred in behalf of his co-religionists of the East, sent an embassy, headed by John I., the patriarch of Rome, and Symmachus, the father-in-law of Boethius, to remonstrate with Justin. For Catholics like John and Symmachus, this was a delicate mission; and not having accomplished it to the satisfaction of Theodoric, they were put to death on their return, on the charge of having conspired with the Greek emperor against

the Ostrogothic dynasty. Boethius was at the same time beheaded; and Theodoric, more convinced than ever of the existence of a Catholic-Italian-Byzantine plot against him, was preparing to persecute the Catholics within his dominions, when he was cut off (August 526) by a dysentery, in the seventy-third year of his age.

37. The death of Theodoric put an end to the domination of the Ostrogoths. Athalaric, his grandson, died of debauchery after a short reign, and was succeeded by Theodatus, a worthless nephew of Theodoric. Italy fell into anarchy; and seizing an opportunity of recovering that important fragment of the empire of the West, Justinian I., who had succeeded Justin on the throne of the East, sent Belisarius, one of his best generals, to wrest the country from its Gothic masters. For seventeen years (536-553) Italy was a theatre of war; the Goths under their three last kings—Vitiges, Totila, and Teias—defending their possessions with obstinacy. Rome itself was several times besieged, and the Italian clergy took a conspicuous part in the struggle. At length Narses, the successor of Belisarius, having defeated and slain Teias (553), the Ostrogothic kingdom was formally annexed to the empire of the East. Eighteen years before (535), Africa had shared the same fate, having been wrested from the Vandals by Belisarius. Thus three of the ancient dioceses of the Latin Empire—Italy, Western Illyricum, and Africa—were incorporated with the Eastern Empire; while the other three—Gaul, Spain, and Britain—remained in the hands of the barbarians. The task of reconstructing civil society in the West—a task in which the Suevic or High-German nation of the Ostrogoths had failed—was reserved for another Germanic people, the Non-Suevic or Low-German nation of the Franks.





THE MIDDLE AGES.

PERIOD I.—THE FRANKISH PERIOD—410-888 A.D.

THE FRANKS, THE LOMBARDS, THE ARABS, AND THE GREEKS.

38. It has been mentioned, that among the Germanic tribes settled on the soil of Gaul, one of the most conspicuous was the Non-Suevic, or Low-German nation of the Franks. Under their chief, Clodion, this nation had made conquests on the left bank of the Rhine as early as the year 440. As they were fiercely opposed, however, by the Gallo-Roman population, which still remained in possession of the central and the north-eastern parts of Gaul, these conquests were not permanent; and the lives of Merowig and Chilperic, the immediate successors of Clodion, were spent in a vain endeavour to retain and extend them. The real founder of the Frankish rule in Gaul was Clovis, or Ludwig, the son and successor of Chilperic.

39. Left by his father in possession of Tournay, in Belgium, Clovis—who was the true type of a young German warrior, brave, ardent, ferocious, and with long flaxen hair flowing down his back—made himself master of all Roman Gaul by one great victory gained over the Gallo-Romans at Soissons in the year 486. He was then but nineteen years of age, but he had already conceived the design of a Frankish monarchy. As a step to this end, though still a pagan himself, he obtained in marriage the Christian princess Clotilda, of the royal house of the

Burgundians. The marriage took place in 493. Clotilda did her best to convert her heathen husband to her own faith. But though he yielded so far as to let the sons he had by her be baptised, he could not be persuaded to abandon his own gods. At length an occasion occurred which decided his wavering opinion. In 496, a host of new German adventurers, composed of Alemanni and Suevi, threatened to cross the Rhine, and disturb his conquest. Clovis marched to oppose them, and gave them battle near Cologne. The battle was desperate, and at a moment when it seemed to be going against him, Clovis stretched out his hands, and vowed that, if he obtained the victory, he would give up his idols, and worship the God of Clotilda. Accordingly, having repelled and subdued the invaders, he made open profession of the Christian faith, and caused himself to be publicly baptised, along with 3000 of his Frankish warriors, by Remigius, archbishop of Rheims.

40. The conversion of Clovis was followed by important consequences. His possessions in Gaul did not then extend much further westward than Soissons, which he had made his capital. The remainder of the country was divided among the Burgundians, who held the south-eastern provinces from the Rhone to the Alps; the Visigoths, who, in addition to their possessions in Spain, held the southern Gaulish provinces from the Loire to the Pyrenees; and the Armoricans—literally, sea-coast people—a mixed population of Gallo-Roman natives, German immigrants, and refugees from Great Britain, which had set up an independent sovereignty extending from the Seine and the Loire to the Western Ocean. Of these joint-occupants with the Franks of the soil of Gaul, the Armoricans alone professed the orthodox form of Christianity. The Gallo-Roman subjects of the Burgundians and of the Visigoths were also orthodox; but the Burgundians and the Visigoths themselves retained and desired to establish the Arian creed, which they had brought with them from their original settlements. Now, as it so happened that the religion of Clotilda, which Clovis and his Franks had adopted, was the orthodox and catholic form of Christianity,

all the orthodox believers in Gaul turned their eyes towards the Franks, as being not only braver warriors, but also better Christians, than the Burgundians and the Visigoths. Moved, therefore, by zeal for orthodoxy, as well as by the spirit of conquest native to him as a German chief, Clovis began a series of wars and intrigues, with a view to secure the supremacy of Gaul. The Armoricans yielded to him willingly, and at once; the Burgundians, after a war of five years, were compelled to become his tributaries; a subsequent war made him master of the lands of the Visigoths; and had he not received a check from Theodoric, king of the Italian Ostrogoths, who regarded him as a dangerous rival, and sent an army to resist him, he might have pushed his conquests still further. As it was, he remained lord of nearly all the Gaulish territories. In acknowledgment of his sovereignty, Anastasius, emperor of the East, who still claimed a kind of traditional right to superintend the affairs of the West, sent ambassadors to congratulate him, to present him with a golden crown and a royal mantle, and to invest him with the honorary dignity of the consulship. To be nearer the centre of his dominions, Clovis removed his capital from Soissons to Paris in the year 507; and from that year, accordingly, may be dated the commencement of the Frankish monarchy.

41. During the reign of Clovis, society in Gaul began to assume somewhat more of order and regular arrangement, than had been possible during the progress of the invasions. The most prominent feature in the new state of things which these invasions had introduced into Gaul was, of course, the distinction between two parts of the population—the conquered Gallo-Romans, and the German conquerors. The latter, seizing upon the best and most convenient lands, and gradually dispersing themselves over the country, constituted a class of landed-proprietors, some free and independent, others owing service for their lands to chiefs higher than themselves. It was chiefly in castles, or strongholds scattered over the rural districts, that these German proprietors dwelt—each attended by a retinue of *leutes*, or free companions, of his own race. The conquered Gallo-Romans, on the other hand, presented greater

varieties of rank. Some of them still retained their position as proprietors of land, and by their wealth and superiority of culture, maintained relations almost of equality with their German lords; but the majority of them were either accumulated in the towns, where they pursued various trades, or distributed as serfs, farm-labourers, or small farmers, over the lands of the conquerors. The towns were perpetually suffering from the attacks or pecuniary exactions of the barbarian proprietors of neighbouring estates.

42. The Gallo-Romans were still permitted to be governed by their own Roman laws, as these had been in practice before the conquest. For the conquerors, however, there was a different set of laws. For the Salic Franks, the original followers and subjects of Clovis, there was the *Lex Salica*, or Salic Law—a Latin compilation, prepared by the orders of Clovis about the year 490, of all those floating maxims and traditional principles of justice by which these Franks had been governed in their barbaric state. For the other, or Ripuarian branch of the Franks, there was a somewhat different code—the *Lex Ripuaria*, compiled in the same way somewhat later. The Burgundians, again, had a similar compilation of their own, called *Lex Burgundionum;* and the Visigoths had already for some years been living under a code of the same description. These German laws regulated only the relations among the conquerors themselves; in any case of dispute between a German and a Gallo-Roman, a less scrupulous mode of settlement was put in force.

43. While the invasions had broken up the old Roman constitution of society in Gaul, they had produced a change also in relations of government among the conquerors themselves. As it was impossible to convene men scattered over a large tract of country, the power of government and of deciding disputes could no longer be conveniently exercised by the assembled freemen of the tribe, according to the native Germanic custom, but came necessarily into the hands of such powerful individuals as chose to exercise it. Although, therefore, the lesser proprietors still retained

a right to be consulted in important cases, a king such as Clovis was necessarily obliged to act for the whole nation, either irresponsibly or after consulting with a few of the leading Frankish lords. Thus the idea of legal sovereignty began to gather round the kingly office. As the Roman emperors and viceprefects had formerly distributed presidents, consuls, and other officials over Gaul, so Clovis appointed military governors called dukes and counts—the former over the rural districts, and the latter in the towns, of his Frankish dominions. He also tried to establish a system of taxes and of enlistment. Over the Burgundian, the Visigothic, and the Armorican parts of Gaul, his authority was confined to general superintendence, and to the reception of tribute or homage from the princes who had submitted to him. In Armorica, indeed, it seems to have been merely nominal, that portion of Gaul continuing to be governed by the descendants of Conan Meriadec; a British adventurer, who had attained the supremacy during the decline of the Empire.

44. Clovis was an assiduous patron of the church. The bishops of the chief Gallic towns were his favourite counsellors, and he did everything to contribute to their influence and their wealth. Not long before his death, he summoned a council of bishops at Orleans, and gave his sanction to their proceedings and resolutions, many of which were of high importance. How devoted a friend to the church he proved himself throughout, may be inferred from the summary of his character given by an ecclesiastical historian of the succeeding age. 'He succeeded in everything,' says Gregory of Tours, 'because he walked with his heart upright before God.'

45. On the death of Clovis (511), his dominions were divided, according to the Salic law (which did not recognise any right of primogeniture), into four parts—the *Kingdom of Metz*, including Champagne, Lorraine, Luxembourg, and the native Frankish country on the left bank of the Rhine as far as Cologne; the *Kingdom of Soissons*, including Picardy, Artois, and part of the Netherlands; the *Kingdom of Paris*, including the Isle of France, Chartrain, and some adjacent districts; and the

Kingdom of Orleans, including Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Orleanois, and Nivernois. The first of these kingdoms fell by lot to the share of Thierry, the son of Clovis by a concubine; the others were distributed by lot among his three sons by Clotilda—Clotaire getting the kingdom of Soissons, Childebert that of Paris, and Clodomir that of Orleans.

46. During a period of fifty years, the history of the Franks consisted of little more than the personal acts of these brothers, their quarrels amongst themselves, and their wars in common. In one of these wars the Burgundians, who had tried to regain their liberty, were thoroughly defeated, and their territories formally divided among the brothers. One of the brothers, Clodomir, king of Orleans, having died in 524, two of the others, Clotaire, king of Soissons, and Childebert, king of Paris, murdered his sons, and seized his kingdom for themselves. Subsequently, Clotaire gained possession of the kingdom of Metz, which, on the death of Thierry (534), had descended to his son Theodebert; and, finally, on the death of Childebert, Clotaire obtained his kingdom also, and thus reunited in one monarchy the whole empire of the Franks (558).

47. Clotaire having died in 562, his dominions were again divided into four parts—his son, Caribert, receiving the kingdom of Paris; and his other sons, Gontram, Chilperic, and Sighebert, receiving those of Orleans, Soissons, and Metz respectively. These kingdoms, however, did not correspond exactly with those of the preceding subdivision, Burgundy and Provence having been since then incorporated with the Frankish territory. The kingdom of Metz, for example, which was also called the *Kingdom of Austrasia* (*Oester rike*—'Eastern kingdom'), was extended further into Germany Proper, while it also included Auvergne; the kingdom of Soissons, which was also called the *Kingdom of Neustria* (*Neoster rike*—'Western kingdom'), included the north-western districts of France, and extended from the Escaut to the Loire; the kingdom of Paris extended in the interior from north to south, and included the towns of Senlis, Melun, Chartres, Tours,

Poitiers, Saintes, Bourdeaux, &c.; and to the kingdom of Orleans was attached the whole of Burgundy. To secure each brother against the aggressions of the others, each possessed certain towns situated out of his own bounds, and within those of his brothers.

48. The story of the four sons of Clotaire, connected as it is with that of two famous women—Brunehilde, the wife of Sighebert, and the daughter of the king of the Visigoths; and Fredegonda, a woman of humble origin, but of great abilities, first the concubine, and afterwards the wife of Chilperic—is one complex narrative of murders, conspiracies, insurrections, and civil wars. At length, all the brothers, as well as the heirs and successors of some of them, having died, Clotaire II., the son of Chilperic and Fredegonda, found himself (613) sole master of all the territories that had been governed by his grandfather. This monarch dying in 628, after a reign distinguished by some able and many ferocious actions, the Frankish rule was again divided—his son, Dagobert, obtaining the bulk of his dominions, and making over Aquitaine to his brother Caribert. On the death of Caribert, however, Dagobert made himself master of the whole, which, at his death in 638, he bequeathed to his sons, Sighebert II. and Clovis II.; Sighebert taking the kingdom of Austrasia, and Clovis that of Neustria and Burgundy.

49. Division and reunion; division brought about by the operation of the Salic law, and reunion accomplished by all kinds of violent means—by wars, by poisonings, by assassinations with the knife or sword: such, it will be seen, was the process which the Frankish Empire was continually undergoing during the dynasty of its first line of kings, the descendants of its great founder, Clovis. Since the time of that great man, this line of kings—ordinarily known in history by the name of the *Merovingian kings*, after Meroveus or Merowig, the supposed grandfather of Clovis—had gradually degenerated. Each had been more cruel, more debauched, and at the same time more weak and imbecile than his predecessor. Meanwhile, a new power was maturing itself, which was ultimately to wrest the supremacy of the Franks out of the hands of the

Merovingian race, and put an end to the Merovingian epoch of Frankish history.

50. In all the Frankish kingdoms, there was from the first an officer styled Mayor of the Palace. He was originally only the superintendent of the king's household, and the chief of the *leutes*, or companions, who were attached to it. In process of time, however, the mayors of the palace acquired a more extensive power, and became, as it were, the leaders of the aristocracy in their disputes with the king. In none of the Frankish kingdoms did the mayors attain such consideration as in Austrasia. In that kingdom, the office was held during the reigns of Dagobert and Sighebert II. by a noble named Pepin of Lander, or, as he was afterwards called, Pepin the Old. He was a man of great ability; and after his death, his son, Grimoald, obtained his office, and still further increased its consequence. During the reigns of Sighebert II. in Austrasia, and Clovis II. in Neustria and Burgundy, the supremacy of the Franks was virtually shared between Grimoald and his two rival mayors—Erchinoald, mayor of the palace in Neustria; and Flaochat, mayor of the palace in Burgundy. Sighebert II. being childless, Grimoald persuaded him to adopt his son Childebert, and name him successor to the throne of Austrasia. Afterwards, however, a son, named Dagobert, was born to Sighebert; and on the death of Sighebert in 650, Grimoald, to secure his own son in possession of the kingdom, caused the infant Dagobert to be carried off furtively into Scotland, spreading the report that he was dead. Upon this, Clovis II. claimed the crown of Austrasia as his inheritance; and Grimoald and his son Childebert having been taken and put to death, Austrasia was once more reunited to Neustria and Burgundy. The union, however, did not last long; for Clovis II. dying in 657, two of his sons, Clotaire III. and Childeric II., divided his dominions between them—Clotaire taking Neustria and Burgundy, and Childeric Austrasia. Clotaire III. died in 670; and his brother Theodoric or Thierry III., who had been excluded from the previous partition, was proclaimed king by Ebroin, the successor of Erchinoald in the mayoralty of the palace. The leutes of

Neustria, however, refused to acknowledge him; and offered the crown to his other brother, Childeric II., the king of Austrasia. Childeric accepted the offer; Ebroin was defeated; and Thierry III. was shut up in a monastery, after having undergone that process of degradation by which, according to the Merovingian custom, the deposition of a king, or the pretermission of a prince-royal, was signified—namely, the shaving or close tonsure of the long hair, which was the mark of the royal Merovingian pedigree. Again, therefore, the Frankish territories were under a common rule; but Childeric II. had hardly added Neustria and Burgundy to his dominions, when a new cause of disunion presented itself in Dagobert II., who, returning from his exile in Scotland under the charge of Wilfred, bishop of York, claimed, and ultimately (672) obtained, his paternal kingdom of Austrasia. About the same time, Childeric II. having been murdered, Ebroin regained his influence in Neustria and Burgundy, and taking Thierry III. out of his monastery, replaced him on the throne. For some years, accordingly, the two kings, uncle and nephew, reigned simultaneously—Thierry III. in Neustria and Burgundy; and Dagobert II. in Austrasia. In Austrasia, however, Dagobert was a mere puppet in the hands of his nobles, at the head of whom was the mayor of the palace, Pepin d'Heristal, or Pepin the Fat, a grandson by the mother's side of Pepin the Old. At length, in 679, Dagobert II. was assassinated; and Pepin d'Heristal became the real ruler of Austrasia, purchasing the dignity by paying nominal homage for it to Thierry III. of Neustria and Burgundy. Thierry, however, becoming dissatisfied with him, Pepin revolted, defeated the royal troops, and compelled the king to name him mayor of the palace for the whole Frankish Empire. From that time (690), the mayors of the palace were the true kings of the Franks.

51. Pepin d'Heristal continued to exercise the supremacy under the nominal commission of Thierry III., and his three successors—Clovis III., Childebert III., and Dagobert III.—who, accordingly, are known in history by the name of the *Rois Fainéans*, or 'Sluggard kings.' Dying in 714, he appointed his grandson, Theodeband, as his

successor in the mayoralty of the palace; but the Austrasians were dissatisfied with the choice, proclaimed Charles Martel—that is, Charles the Hammer—a natural son of Pepin, and a man of extraordinary merit, the duke of Austrasia, and compelled Chilperic II., the successor of Dagobert III., to recognise him as the mayor of the palace, with the same rights as Pepin. Accordingly, during the nominal reigns of Chilperic II. and his successor Thierry IV. (719–736), Charles Martel held the same place in the kingdom that his father Pepin had done: they were puppets, and he was their master. On the death of Thierry IV. in 736, he did not think it necessary to appoint another king, but continued to govern the kingdom, irresponsibly and singly, under the title of 'Duke of the Franks.' After a life memorable for great actions, both as a warrior and a ruler, Charles Martel died in the year 741, leaving two sons—Pepin and Carloman. Pepin, who is distinguished from his two ancestors of the same name by the epithet *Le Bref*, or 'the Short,' assumed the mayoralty of the palace of Neustria and Burgundy, setting up as a 'sluggard king' Childeric III., a son of Thierry IV.; Carloman assumed the same position in Austrasia, but without appointing any puppet. After a few years, Pepin found it necessary to dethrone Childeric III., and place him in a monastery; and his brother Carloman having, about the same time, in a fit of religious enthusiasm, resolved to resign his government, and devote himself to the church, Austrasia was reannexed to Neustria and Burgundy; and Pepin, putting an end to the anomalous rule of the mayors of the palace, caused himself to be formally invested with the supremacy under the complete regal title of 'King of the Franks.' This important step, which was transacted at Soissons in March 752, and forms an epoch in modern history, was not taken without due deliberation. Before committing himself to it, Pepin consulted Pope Zacharias, whose answer was highly favourable. 'He who exercises the royal authority,' said the pope, 'should also bear the royal title.' Accordingly, in the ancient chronicles, the fact is thus recorded: 'By the consent of the Frankish nation, supported by the sanction of

the apostolic see, the illustrious Pepin, being consecrated by the bishops, and recognised by the princes, was raised to the kingdom, together with his queen, Bertrada, according to the ancient usages.' The deposed 'sluggard king,' Childeric III., and his only son, were left, with heads shaved, to languish out their lives in obscurity.

52. Thus, after a duration of 250 years, ended the famous dynasty of the Merovingian kings, the successors of the long-haired Clovis. The dynasty which followed—that founded by Pepin the Short—is known in history as that of the *Carlovingian kings;* a name more useful than accurate. Before proceeding, however, to narrate the occurrences which took place under that dynasty, it will be necessary to cast a retrospective glance at certain important events that had in the meantime altered the face of other parts of the conquered Roman world.

53. *Lombard Invasion of Italy.*—The Germanic invasions which had destroyed the Roman Empire, did not cease at the moment when that destruction was complete. The same causes which had precipitated the first barbarian hordes upon the provinces west of the Rhine and south of the Danube still continued to operate; and as the Franks, the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, the Burgundians, the Saxons, &c., who had divided the possession of the Latin Empire, continued to make war upon each other, so they were all obliged to act on the defensive against fresh hordes of their Germanic kinsmen, who, discontented with their native settlements, or with the territories they had acquired on their borders, were disposed to have recourse to the established expedient of migration. The Franks, as we have seen, were successful in repelling such of these hordes as threatened them in particular—the Frisians, the Thuringians, and the native Saxons. Italy, however—bereft of its Germanic protectors by the extinction (553) of the Ostrogothic dynasty of Theodoric, and converted, as it had been, into a mere dependency of the empire of the East—was more exposed to attack; and, accordingly, it soon fell a prey to a new nation of German invaders—that of the *Longobards* or *Lombards.*

54. The Lombards were a Suevic people. They

originally dwelt on the Elbe, but the general course of the migrations had carried them to Pannonia, where they were allowed (527) to settle by the Greek emperor Justinian. Driven thence by the agitations produced in the central and Slavonian parts of Europe by the restlessness of the Avars—a new race of Asiatic conquerors of the Turkish or Tatar stock, who had invaded Europe with a view to repeat the enterprise of the Huns—they marched into Italy under the command of their king, Alboin (568). They are said to have been invited thither by Narses, the conqueror of the Ostrogoths, in consequence of the ungrateful treatment he experienced at the hands of the Greek court. Italy was ill defended by the Greek soldiery under Longinus, the successor of Narses in the government, and the Lombards met with scarcely any resistance. Pavia, the only town that stood on its defence, surrendered to them in 572; and Alboin, making that town his capital, established himself as king of that part of Northern Italy now known as Lombardy. Parts of Central and Southern Italy were also gradually wrested from the Greeks by the Lombards.

55. Men of many nations besides the Lombards had followed the standard of Alboin into Italy—Saxons, Suevi, Gepidæ, Bulgarians, Pannonians, &c.; but the Lombards greatly preponderated, and assumed the mastery. After the death of Alboin, the various chiefs of the nation elected one of their number, Clefo, to the throne; but as he was soon afterwards murdered, the government was for a considerable period (575–586) administered by between thirty and forty independent chiefs, who were called Dukes. Thus, there was a Duke of Pavia, a Duke of Friuli, a Duke of Bergamo, a Duke of Turin, a Duke of Brescia, &c. This piecemeal system producing many inconveniences, the Lombards, in 586, chose another king, Authar, the son of Clefo. From that time, the Lombard dominion in Italy was in reality a federation of independent dukedoms, presided over by an elective sovereign, who was invested with a general, but not absolute, power of superintendence. The portions of Italy which still remained unsubdued by the Lombards, and the natives of which were called

indiscriminately by the general name of Romans, were governed, as before, by lieutenants of the Byzantine emperor, called Exarchs, and residing at Ravenna. Besides Ravenna and its district, Rome itself, with its attached duchy, Genoa, Padua, Apulia, Calabria, and Naples, were subject to the Byzantine exarchs. On the whole, the government of the Lombards was more beneficial to its subjects than that of the Greeks.

56. After the death of Authar, who gained great credit by extending the Lombard dominion at the expense of the Greek exarchate, as well as by repelling the invasions of the Franks under the successors of Clotaire I., Agilulf, Duke of Turin, was elected to the throne (592). Induced by the persuasions of his wife, he abandoned the Arian form of creed—which, with the rest of his countrymen, he had professed—and declared himself a Catholic, the Lombards generally following his example. The immediate successors of Agilulf were Adaloald (615–625) and Ariovald (625–636). During their reigns, the Lombard kingdom was still further extended in Italy; and in the reign of Ariovald, Italy was visited by the famous Irish monk, St Columbanus, who founded the celebrated monastery of Bobbie, near the Ligurian Apennines.

57. The successor of Ariovald was Rothar, a man of prudence and ability, who distinguished his reign (636–653) by causing to be compiled a code of laws for Lombardy, similar to the codes already in use among the Franks and the Burgundians. This code, which was written in barbarous Latin, was a compilation of ancient Lombard customs and maxims, adapted to the new circumstances in which the nation was placed. A marked distinction was made, as in the Frankish and Burgundian codes, between the conquerors or Lombards, and the conquered population or Italians. For the former, there was a system of free justice, founded on the Germanic principle of compensation for injury—certain crimes, however, being punished summarily as offences against the state; the Italians, on the other hand, were subject to the Roman law in their relations with each other, while in their

relations to their Lombard masters, they had to submit to very tyrannical procedure.

58. Under the eight immediate successors of Rothar—Rodoald, Aripert I., Godebert, Grimoald, Pertharit, Cunipert, Aripert II., and Asprand—the Lombards and the Italians of the Greek exarchate continued to be at war with each other (653–713). The successor of Asprand was his son, Luitprand, the most illustrious of the Lombard kings. He reigned thirty-two years (713–744), during which he maintained with great firmness the power of the Lombards against the Byzantine emperors; made alliances with the popes; and was on friendly terms with Charles Martel, the Frankish mayor of the palace. He is described as having been 'valiant in war, but fond of peace; of a forgiving disposition; although destitute of learning, like most of his countrymen, yet gifted with judgment and perspicacity, and worthy of being compared with philosophers; careful of the welfare of his people, and a legislator.' He added new laws to the code which had been prepared by Rothar.

59. *The Arabic Conquests.*—Situated at the extreme east of the Roman Empire, and never annexed to it, the great peninsula of Arabia had for many centuries been inhabited by multitudinous tribes of one stock—some of them settled on spots favourable for commerce or cultivation, but the greater part of them roving wildly with their camels and flocks, like their descendants of the present day, over the deserts of the interior. Physically, intellectually, and morally, the Arabs were and are a fine race of men. Five or six centuries, however, after Christ, Arabia was in a comparatively degraded condition. With the native polytheism, which had prevailed in the peninsula from time immemorial, there had been blended a variety of other creeds and religions—the Sabæanism, or worship of the celestial luminaries, practised by the Chaldees; the ceremonial portions of Judaism, and the most degenerate forms of Christianity, as professed by the heretics and sectaries of the Greek Empire. A kind of speculative infidelity had also become general, amounting to a total denial of the resurrection and the immortality of the soul. Affected by these and by other causes, Arabia appeared to

be one of the least hopeful parts of the earth's surface—without importance, without unity, without a future.

60. Suddenly, however, a man appeared, who was destined to restore the Arabic name, and to lead the Arabs into a career of unexampled glory. This was the famous Mahomet, or Mohammed Ibn Abdallah. Born at Mecca in 570 or 571, of the highest branch of the noble tribe of Koreish, to whom belonged the government of Mecca, and the guardianship of the *Kaaba*, or central temple of all Arabian worship, Mohammed lived to the age of forty without exciting much remark, and known only as an able, rich, and enterprising merchant, honourable in his dealings, and strictly truthful in all that he said. He could neither read nor write; but his mercantile journeys to various parts of the peninsula, as well as to Syria and Palestine, had enlarged his store of information, and enabled him to conceive, better than he could otherwise have done, the numerous legends, in part derived from the Hebrew Bible, and in part purely Arabic, which constituted the chief nutriment of the Arabic mind. In person, Mohammed was of middle stature, with a large chest, a large head, a ruddy-brown complexion, black flowing hair and beard, and flashing black eyes. His demeanour was courteous, sometimes even jocose; and when he was angry, a big vein used to start up on his forehead, so as to be perfectly conspicuous under the skin. Like other Arabs, he mended his own clothes and shoes, he milked his own ewes, attended to his own cattle; and, in short, acted in all respects as the careful master of a wealthy Eastern household. This position he had attained not by inheritance, for his parents left him scarcely any property, but by marrying in his twenty-fifth year a rich widow, named Kadijah, then in her fortieth year.

61. It was in the year 613, when Mohammed was forty-three years of age, that, at a meeting of his kinsmen, the chiefs of Mecca, he made the startling announcement that he had received a divine commission to reform the faith and practice of the whole Arabian nation. His account was, that, three years before, while he was holding the fast of the sacred Arabic month Ramadhan, alone in

the desert, an angel had appeared to him, and told him that God had chosen him to be the prophet of the Arabs. This miraculous call he had kept secret at first; but gradually convinced of its genuineness, he had at length communicated it to his most intimate friends. His wife, Kadijah, had been his first convert; his relatives, Ali and Abubeker, had followed; and now he called upon all his other kinsmen and friends to acknowledge his authority, forsake their idols and their habits of unbelief and profligacy, and worship the one only true God, who had made the heavens and the earth, and who would judge the world at the last day.

62. The kinsmen of Mohammed laughed at him, and the Meccans denounced him as either a madman or an impostor. But he persevered in his design, and daily preached to all who would hear him the doctrines of a future life and of the unity of God. His manner of conducting his mission was this: from time to time he came forth with a small sermon, consisting of sentences which he said had been revealed to him from God, and which he had afterwards dictated to an amanuensis, who wrote them down on pieces of parchment, or on flat pieces of bone, word for word. These verses he read to his disciples; and he sometimes caused copies of them to be affixed to the walls of the Kaaba, for the benefit of the Meccans at large. The faithful believers either got them by heart, or had copies of them made for their use; and thus gradually there was accumulated in the memories of Mohammed's followers, and in their household depositaries, a vast number of sacred texts or scriptures, which they quoted on all occasions as truths direct from God. These texts were collectively known as the *Koran*—that is, 'the Reading'—and each specific fragment of supposed revelation was called a *Sura*, or 'Chapter.' The religion of Mohammed, as contained in the Koran—a religion which may be described as a system of monotheism, comprehending an intense belief in a future life of rewards and punishments—received the name of *Islam*—that is, 'Salvation.' As promulgated in the Koran, it is much simpler than it afterwards became

when corrupted by the Mohammedan theologians and commentators.

63. Islam had made but little progress in Mecca, when Mohammed was obliged to flee from the city to save his life. He betook himself, with his disciples, to Yatreb, a town situated further north in Arabia, and afterwards named, in consequence, Medina, or Medinat-al-Nabi—that is, 'City of the Prophet.' The date of this flight, or *hejira*, as the Arabians call it—the 16th of July 622—has ever since been recognised in all Mohammedan countries as the commencement of the Mohammedan era.

64. At Medina, Mohammed was received with open arms. He was invested with the supreme command; and adapting his conduct to his new position, he began to propagate his religion with the sword. Tribe after tribe was subdued, both those that practised polytheism and those that professed Judaism; Mecca itself was taken, and the idols of the Kaaba destroyed; and before the lapse of ten years, there scarcely remained a single portion of the Arabian peninsula that did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Mohammed, practise the worship enjoined in the Koran, and boast of an unmixed population of *Moslems*, or True Believers. Mohammed's views growing more extensive with his successes, he was preparing to disseminate Islam even beyond the bounds of Arabia, and had actually announced his intention to that effect to his neighbours, the king of Persia on the one side, and the Greek emperor and the king of Abyssinia on the other, when he was cut off by a fever at Medina in the year 632, in the sixty-third year of his age. He left numerous wives whom he had married, in addition to Kadijah, as well as several children.

65. The impulse communicated to the Arabian race by the enthusiasm of Mohammed did not cease with his death. The whole nation had been roused to an unexampled pitch of religious zeal, and were eager to continue the work which Mohammed had begun. Accordingly, the reigns of the *Caliphs*—as the successors of Mohammed in the conjunct spiritual and temporal sovereignty of Arabia were called—were one long series of invasions, wars, and

conquests, undertaken for the express purpose of adding new countries to the Mohammedan Empire. In the reign of Abubeker, the first of the caliphs, Syria and Mesopotamia were subdued by Arabic armies; and under his successor Omar, Egypt was conquered, and the whole of the northern coast of Africa overrun. By these conquests, the limits of the empire of the East were considerably curtailed. Nor was it only westward that the Arabians extended their victories. After several invasions, Persia was obliged to succumb.

66. Thus, before the middle of the seventh century, or within thirty years after the death of Mohammed, the whole of the immense tract of country lying between Algiers, in Africa, and Cabul, in Central Asia, was covered by a race of Arabian warriors, burning with religious fervour, and zealous for the propagation of their faith and their language over the entire surface of the world. The capital of this great empire, and the seat of the caliphate, was the town of Kufa, on the Euphrates; Mecca, however, retaining its pre-eminence as the sacred or holy city, whither all true Moslems were to go in pilgrimage, and towards which they were to turn when they prayed. But on the death of Ali, the fourth caliph, and the accession to the caliphate (660) of a new race or dynasty called the *Ommiades*, on account of their descent from Ommiah, a relative of the prophet, the political centre of the empire was transferred to Damascus. Here the caliph resided, while his *emirs*, or 'commanders,' led his troops in new directions, and governed distant provinces in his name. *Cadis*, or judges, were likewise appointed, to administer the laws of the Koran in a few of the principal cities; and in every town there were preachers who, acting as the deputies of the caliph in his spiritual capacity, read and expounded the Koran on Fridays in buildings called mosques. A separate class of functionaries, called *muftis*, prepared such new laws as were necessary to carry out the provisions of the Koran.

67. The Mohammedan Empire attained its fullest extent in the reign of Walid I., the second of the Ommiade caliphs (705–715). In the reign of his predecessor, the Arabian arms had been carried into Morocco and the

Atlantic coasts of Africa; and his emir, Okba, had even meditated the invasion of Spain. That great exploit, however, was reserved for Musa ben Nosair, the governor of Africa, under the caliph Walid. According to the Spanish legend, it was brought about by the treachery of Count Julian, the Spanish governor of Ceuta, who, enraged against his sovereign, Roderic, the Visigothic king of Spain, on account of an insult which had been offered to his daughter, entered into secret correspondence with the Mohammedans on the other side of the straits, and promised to assist them in conquering the peninsula. The first Arab that landed on the Spanish soil was Tarik ben Zaid, a bold lieutenant of Musa ben Nosair, who crossed over from Morocco at the head of a small force. The spot where he landed was afterwards named *Jibel Tarik*, or the 'Mountain of Tarik,' a name which has been corrupted by usage into *Gibraltar*. Tarik defeated King Roderic and his troops in a battle fought at Xeres de la Frontera, on the 19th of July 711, and thus established the dominion of the Arabs over Murcia, Granada, Andalusia, and other parts of Southern Spain. Meanwhile, other emirs of the caliph Walid were extending his power in Asia. Bokhara, Turkistan, and other countries lying east of the Caspian, were rapidly subdued; and under one bold leader, the Arabians even penetrated into Northern India. In the caliphate of Soliman, the successor of Walid (715–717), the Greek Empire was still further weakened by the seizure of the greater portion of Asia Minor by the Arabs, who even proceeded to lay siege to Constantinople. The incompetence, however, of Soliman and his successors, Yezid II. and Hesham (720–743), arrested the progress of the Arabic conquests.

68. The wondrous spread of the power of the Arabs over so large a portion of the earth, and especially their daring invasion and conquest of Spain, had struck mingled admiration and terror into the soul of all Christendom. As it was known to be their intention to propagate their faith with the sword as far as they could, it did not seem improbable that they would cross the Pyrenees, invade Gaul, and overrun all Central Europe. It was with blended feelings,

therefore, of warlike enthusiasm against a new foe, and religious horror against a new creed, that the descendants of the fair-haired German chieftains who had conquered the lands of Western Europe, prepared for a struggle with the tawny sons of Arabia.

69. As the leading Germanic nation in Europe, the Franks were naturally called upon to act a conspicuous part in the intended resistance. Besides, their own territories were threatened. The immediate successors of Tarik in the emirship of Spain were occupied in completing the conquest which he had begun. With the exception of some of the mountainous districts in the Western Pyrenees, where a number of the native Goths found refuge, and where a brave Gothic chieftain, named Pelayo, was able to found a little independent Christian kingdom, called the kingdom of Asturias, the whole of the Spanish peninsula fell under the power of the Arabs, or, as they now began to be called, the *Saracens* (that is, Eastern people), or *Moors* (that is, men from Mauritania). But in the year 718, Al-haur, the fifth emir in succession from Tarik, ventured on an incursion into Gaul. His successor repeated the incursion, at the head of a considerable force; took Carcassonne and Narbonne; and had almost obtained possession of Toulouse, when he was defeated and slain (721) by an army of Goths and Franks, under the command of Eudes or Otho, the Duke of Aquitaine, whose power was then nearly supreme in the south of France. This defeat, however, was only a temporary check to the daring Saracens. Again and again they invaded Gaul; and in a few years, their language and their religion prevailed over a large tract to the north of the Pyrenees, and 'the vineyards of Gascony and the city of Bourdeaux were possessed by the sovereign of Damascus and Samarcand.' Even these limits, however, did not satisfy them. In the year 728, Abd-el-rahman, a Saracen of great abilities, was appointed by the caliph to the emirship of Spain. Full of the conquering spirit of his race, he resolved that not only France, but all Europe, should be included within the sway of the Moslems. Accordingly, invading France (732) at the head of the largest Mohammedan army that had

ever been assembled in Europe, he pushed on, defeating all before him, as far as the river Loire. This river is distant 1000 miles from the rock of Gibraltar; and a march of the same distance would have carried the standard of the Mohammedans as far as the Highlands of Scotland in one direction, or the confines of Poland in another.

70. But at the hour of greatest need, Providence raised up a champion for Christendom. This was the famous Charles Martel, or Charles the Hammer, already mentioned as having succeeded his father, Pepin d'Heristal, as mayor of the palace for the Frankish Empire under the last Merovingian kings. Charles had been virtual sovereign of the Franks for about seventeen years, with Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, as his only formidable rival, when the Moorish emir Abd-el-rahman undertook his great invasion. Summoned by the Franks, and even by his rival, Eudes, to place himself at the head of the nation in the new contest, he assembled a large army, and came up with the Saracens between Tours and Poitiers. A desperate battle ensued, which was protracted over seven days; but on the seventh day, the Saracens were defeated with great slaughter, Abd-el-rahman himself being slain on the field. This great victory (October 732), followed up as it was by vigorous attacks on the Saracens, who had settled in Languedoc and Provence, arrested for ever the progress of the Mohammedan arms in Western Europe, and procured for Charles the expressive surname of 'the Hammer,' by which he is known in history.

71. While the bravery of the Franks thus struck a blow at the Saracen power in Europe, the Saracen Empire was losing strength from internal causes. The incapacity of the later caliphs of the Ommiade dynasty brought on a revolution at Damascus; and after a short contest, a new dynasty, known as the *Abbasides*, on account of their descent from Abbas, one of the uncles of Mohammed, seized on the caliphate (749). A bloody persecution was begun by the first caliph of this dynasty against all the Ommiades; one of whom, however, a young chieftain, named Abd-el-rahman, succeeded in escaping to Spain. Here the Saracens, who took the part of the persecuted

dynasty, received him with open arms; and after various attempts of the Abbaside caliph to assert his authority through his emirs in that remote province of his vast dominion, the peninsula declared itself independent of the caliphate, and accepted Abd-el-rahman as its king. Thus, there arose two distinct Mohammedan powers in the world: the caliphate itself, or Arabic Empire Proper, extending in a long tract westward from India to the shores of the Atlantic, and governed by the Abbaside caliphs through their emirs; and the Moorish or Saracen kingdom of Spain, extending from Gibraltar to the river Aude, in Languedoc, and governed by a branch of the house of the Ommiades. The capital of the former was transferred by Al-mansur, the second caliph of the Abbaside line, from Damascus to the newly built city of Bagdad, on the Tigris (753). The capital of Moorish Spain was the ancient city of Cordova, which was enlarged and embellished for the purpose by Abd-el-rahman. After this partition of the Arabic Empire, scarcely any new conquests were made by the Arabs. The Abbasides, it is true, continued to harass the Greek Empire by carrying on wars in Asia Minor; and in the west, Crete, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and even portions of Southern Italy, were penetrated and occupied by the adventurous Orientals.

72. The Arabic invasions, which we have thus narrated, are not to be regarded as a mere series of violent or barbaric exploits that produced no good effects. Originally an ardent and highly gifted race, the Arabs had been inspired by the genius of Mohammed not only to a career of conquest in behalf of their faith, but also to a career of earnest and varied intellectual effort. Mohammed had himself recommended learning and poetry; and although the second caliph, Omar, had shewn his contempt for literature, by ordering the books of the great Alexandrian Library to be burnt when the city was taken, no sooner were the first conquests over, than the believers in the Koran began to direct their energies towards the cultivation of the arts and sciences. The accession of the Abbasides to the caliphate was the epoch of a splendid intellectual outburst among the Arabs. Law, astronomy,

mathematics, medicine, and philosophy, were studied with zeal at Bagdad, and in other cities of the caliphate; books were multiplied by native authors on all these subjects; and the best works in the Greek language were translated into Arabic. Architecture, and the arts of polished and luxurious life, had likewise their devotees; and the fertility of the Arabic mind displayed itself in numerous manufactures and inventions. Nor were the Moors of Spain behind their brethren of the East in these respects: they not only embellished the land they had subdued by noble architectural edifices, but also introduced into it new trees, new fruits, and new processes in the arts. Cordova became a seat of Arabic learning, and a place celebrated for civilised magnificence. In short, were we to compare the Arabic invaders of the seventh and eighth centuries with our European ancestors, we should probably be obliged to assign the palm of superior culture to the former. The Arabic invasions, therefore, were not an injury, but a service, to the cause of civilisation. From the Arabs, and especially from those of Spain, modern Europe has derived, amongst other things—the numeral characters, the art of paper-making, cotton manufacture, the art of preparing the finer kinds of leather, peculiar methods of tempering steel, and the use of rhyme in metre. Much of the spirit of modern romance and chivalry may also be traced to these Orientals, who also set the example of commercial enterprise to the European nations by their bold navigation in the Eastern seas. On these points more will be said hereafter; meanwhile, let us return to the Frankish Empire, which we left (p. 33) under the rule of Pepin the Short, the first of the Carlovingian kings.

73. The reign of Pepin (751–768) forms an important epoch in the history not only of France, but of all Western Europe. During his life, new relations were established between France and Italy, which materially affected the subsequent interests of both countries, as well as those of the Greek Empire. To understand the nature of these relations, let us glance at the condition of each of the three regions at the time when Charles Martel left the government of the Franks to his son Pepin.

74. (1.) *France.*—The kingdom of the Franks which Charles Martel bequeathed to Pepin, did not include the whole territory of modern France. In the north-west, the Armoricans or Bretons formed an independent population, occupying the present districts of Brittany and Normandy. The Merovingian kings had, indeed, claimed authority over them, but had never been able to exercise it. Again, in the south of France, in addition to the Saracens, who, notwithstanding the exploits of Charles Martel, still continued to retain some positions in Languedoc, there existed a rival power to Pepin in the dukedom of Aquitaine. This part of France, so called after Aquitania, one of the divisions of ancient Gaul, had been long subject to the incursions of the Basques or Vascones, a relic of the old Iberian inhabitants of Spain, who had taken refuge in the Pyrenees, where they maintained their position, first against the Romans, and then against the Visigoths. Swarm after swarm of these mountaineers poured down upon Aquitaine; and it was to defend the country against their invasions, that the Merovingian kings had, about the year 600, nominated a distinguished Roman to be Duke of Aquitaine. The descendants of this duke, however, availed themselves of the weakness of the Frankish power, under the later Merovingians, to assume an independent station, ruling over the mingled population of Basques, Gallo-Romans, and Franks, which they found assembled on the territories of Gascony (so called from the number of Basques, Vascones, or Gascones, who had settled in it) and Guienne (a contraction of the word Aquitaine). Eudes, Duke of Aquitaine, we have seen, had been a rival of Charles Martel; and though the successes of Charles against the Saracens had diminished his power, the dukedom of Aquitaine still remained virtually independent of the Frankish monarchy of Pepin. That monarchy, in short, consisted of little besides the four ancient Merovingian kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, Paris, and Orléans. Within these limits, however, the power of Pepin was supreme: his great supporters were the Frankish clergy. Indeed, one of the causes which had promoted the family of the mayors of the palace, from

Pepin the Old downwards, had been the connection of this family with the ecclesiastics, and their disposition to ally themselves with the interests of the church. The chief adversaries with whom the Franks had to contend, during the reigns of the Merovingians, were the pagan Germanic tribes—the Bavarians, the Frisians, and the Saxons—inhabiting the districts lying east of the Rhine. Now, for more than a century, it had been the earnest endeavour of the popes of Rome to convert these pagan Germans to Christianity; and many missionaries had been sent among them for that purpose. The Franks found, that in proportion as the Germanic tribes were Christianised, they became less formidable as neighbours. Hence they favoured the missionary enterprise of the popes, and were in the habit of receiving with great kindness such missionaries as passed through the Frankish territories on their way to the Rhine. The mayors of the palace distinguished themselves in this respect; and thus there arose a good understanding between them and the popes. Charles Martel, it is true, was an exception to the ordinary policy of his family: though the champion of Christendom against the Saracens, it is not improbable that he was at heart a pagan; and hence his memory was greatly vilified by the clergy, who asserted that his soul had gone to the place of torment. But his son Pepin behaved differently. From the very first, he maintained the most friendly relations with the popes; and, as we have already seen, it was with the full sanction of Pope Zacharias that he exchanged his title of mayor of the palace for the higher one of king. He was anointed to the kingly office by the monk Boniface, the most distinguished of all the papal missionaries then labouring among the Germans.

(2.) *Italy.*—With the exception of those portions of the extremity of the peninsula where the Arabs had gained a footing, Italy was still divided into two sections—Southern and Central Italy—subject to the Greek emperor of Constantinople, and governed in his name by the exarchs of Ravenna, in conjunction with the popes of Rome, whose influence was gradually increasing; and

Northern Italy, in possession of the Lombards. Between these two parts of Italy there was a constant feud; the Lombards aiming at the occupation of the whole peninsula, while the exarchs and the popes strenuously resisted them.

(3.) *The Greek Empire.*—Left comparatively intact by the Germanic invasions of the fifth century, the main force of which had been directed against the empire of the West, the Greek or Eastern Empire had at first retained all its seven dioceses of Thrace, Asia, Pontus, the East, Egypt, Macedonia, and Dacia, incorporating with its subjects such of the German barbarians as had settled in them; and had even, as we have seen, profited by the confusion and disintegration of the West, so as to add three of the western dioceses—Italy, Western Illyricum, and Africa—to her limits. Accordingly, from the beginning of the sixth century, the emperors of Constantinople were, to all appearance, the most powerful monarchs of the earth, swaying a dominion which extended from the Euphrates to the coast of the Atlantic. Compared with these eastern potentates, whose authority embraced many distinct countries, the Germanic sovereigns of the West were but a cluster of chiefs fighting with each other on a small space. Fierce as they were, they paid a voluntary respect to the man who, residing in the distant city of Constantinople, was the surviving representative of the great Roman Empire, and still wore the purple that had belonged to the Cæsars. Hence, there were frequent relations between the various Germanic powers of Gaul and Spain, and the successive emperors who, during the sixth and seventh centuries, occupied the Byzantine throne—Justin I. (518–527); Justinian I. (527–565); Justin II. (565–578); Tiberius (578–582); Mauricius (582–602); Phocas (602–610); Heraclius (610–641); Constantine (641); Heracleonas (641); Constans (641–668); Constantine Pogonatus (668–685); and Justinian II. (685–695, and 704–711). But though the Greek emperors retained the semblance of state, their real power was gone. The various provinces of the empire governed themselves as well as they could; while the capital, Constantinople, was a scene of Oriental intrigues and theological controversies among all

denominations of Christian sectaries. Nor was it long before the empire, thus decrepit within, was attacked from without. The first considerable aggression upon its limits was that of the Lombards, who, in the reign of Justin II. (572), made themselves masters, as we have seen, of half the diocese of Italy. The barbaric tribes of Central Europe, also, were continually assailing the empire on its northern frontier. Mingled hosts of Slavonians, chiefly of the Tchekhish branch, and Avars, would pour at intervals from the region of the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube, down into Thrace and Macedonia, routing the imperial armies, and menacing Constantinople. On the east, there was a hostile power still more formidable—that of the Persians. From time immemorial, there had prevailed a spirit of enmity between the Persians or Parthians and the Romans; and since the separation of the empires of the East and West, the Persians had never ceased to make invasions on the eastern frontier. During the sixth century, they reached the height of their reputation under their illustrious King Khosru or Chosroes (531–579); and were able to extend their rule as far as Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, thus virtually stripping the Greek Empire of its fairest provinces. But though the Greek Empire was thus eaten into on all sides by Lombards, Slavonians, and Persians, it was reserved for the Arabs to strike the great blow, and perform for it that process of disruption and conquest which had been performed for the empire of the West by the Germanic nations. Within a few years after the death of Mohammed, as has been already mentioned in our sketch of the history of the caliphate, Syria, Egypt, a great part of Asia Minor, and the whole of the northern coast of Africa, were wrested from the Greek emperors by the warlike disciples of the Prophet. Accordingly, in the beginning of the eighth century, all that remained of the once splendid dominion of the Byzantine Cæsars consisted of the southern half of Italy, ruled in their name by the exarchs of Ravenna and the popes; the countries lying between the Adriatic on the one side, and the Black Sea and the Ægean on the other—namely, Greece Proper, Macedonia, Thrace, with

parts of Illyricum and Dacia; and the provinces of Asia Minor. The dimensions of the empire remained very nearly the same at the time of the accession of Pepin to the throne of the Franks.

75. As it had been by the papal sanction and the influence of the church that Pepin had been promoted to his kingdom, so, during his reign, he acted as the zealous servant and defender of the popes. At the time of his accession, a controversy was raging between the Greek emperors and their Italian subjects. After various wars and revolutions, a military adventurer, named Leo Isaurus, had (716) raised himself to the imperial dignity at Constantinople. A man of great energy, and entertaining peculiar theological views, he had, in the year 726, published an edict prohibiting the use of images in public worship. By his orders, all the images and statues in Constantinople and its vicinity were demolished; and such as continued to use images were severely punished. Determined to carry his decree into effect over the whole empire, he authorised his exarch in Italy to put it in force there. The appearance, however, of the Iconoclasts or 'Image-breakers' in Italy, roused an enthusiastic resistance on the part of the people; and the popes constituted themselves the champions of the popular cause. Virtually throwing off their allegiance to the Greek emperor and his exarchs, the Romans, with the popes at their head, had recourse at first to the assistance of the Lombards. Accordingly, during the reign of Leo Isaurus (716–742), Luitprand, the king of the Lombards, generally acted against him, in alliance with the popes then in power —Gregory II., Gregory III., and Zacharias; and when Constantine Copronymus, who succeeded his father Leo, continued his Iconoclastic policy, the popes found similar allies in Hildebrand, Ratchis, and Astolphus, the successors of Luitprand. But the conduct of Astolphus made it plain that it was for reasons of his own that he assisted the popes against the Byzantine court. Having taken Ravenna in 751, and put an end to the rule of the exarchs, he attacked the Roman dominions, with the view of adding them and all Italy to the Lombard territory. In these

circumstances, the popes who succeeded Zacharias—namely, Stephen II., Paul I., and Stephen III. (753–772)—sought a more sincere ally in the king of the Franks. Pepin responded to the call. Twice he invaded Italy, defeated Astolphus, and compelled the Lombards to cede all the territories they had taken in Central Italy. These territories were given up by Pepin, not to the Byzantine emperors, but to the popes themselves, or, according to the formal expression of the treaty, to 'the Holy Church of God and the Roman Republic.' The original deed by which the Frankish king thus conveyed over to the popes of Rome so large a portion of the lands of Central Italy has, unfortunately, been lost; but the dotation itself (756) is recognised as one of the most important transactions in the history of the modern world. It laid the foundation of the temporal power of the papacy.

76. Besides his incursions into Italy, and his negotiations with the popes, Pepin signalised his reign by successful wars against the German nations on the other side of the Rhine, and the Aquitanians of Southern Gaul, as well as by many acts of good government at home. At his death, in September 768, the Frankish Empire was decidedly the most powerful in Europe; extending, as it did, over nearly all Gaul, with portions of Western Germany; and, at the same time, exerting a control over the affairs of Italy. This empire he bequeathed to his two sons—Karl or Charles, who had been born in Bavaria in 742, and was consequently twenty-seven years of age at the time of his father's death; and Karloman, who was somewhat younger. Charles received Austrasia, Neustria, and part of Germany; Karloman, Burgundy and Southern Gaul. Karloman, however, dying in 771, Charles took possession of his dominions, compelling his widow and her two infant children to seek refuge among the Lombards. Thus, king of the whole Frankish territory, Charles began that career of greatness which has rendered the name of CHARLEMAGNE, by which he was subsequently distinguished (*Karl mann*, 'Strong man'), so illustrious in European history. A detailed chronological account of his reign, which extended over a period of forty-six years (768–814) is here

impossible; it will be best, therefore, to survey it as a whole, and to say something, *first*, of his personal character and habits; *secondly*, of his wars and conquests; and *thirdly*, of his government and legislation.

77. (1.) *Character and Habits of Charlemagne.*—Charles, or, as he was called by the Germans, *Karl der Grosse*, was a man of large and stout frame, tall, and with a somewhat protuberant form. His head was remarkable for its round shape; his eyes were very large and quick; his nose disproportionately big; his neck was short and thick; and he had a clear, but rather weak and feminine voice. He wore the native German dress; and, though he knew Latin and a little Greek, habitually spoke the German tongue. His temper was easy, placable, and generous; but, like most of his family, he was subject to violent fits of passion when offended. He was temperate and punctual in his habits; he quarrelled with his physicians, because they wished him to discontinue the use of roast meat, to which he had accustomed himself, for that of boiled, which he did not like; and he made it a regular practice to rise early in the mornings, for matin-service in his chapel. His household was managed with great strictness, under his own immediate superintendence; and nothing could pass in it with which he was not acquainted. His favourite place of residence was Aix-la-Chapelle, in the present Prussian province of the Lower Rhine. Here he built a palace, that he might avail himself of the hot springs for which the place is still famous, and in which he was fond of bathing, and seeing others bathe. The autumn he usually spent in hunting. Wherever he was, he was usually surrounded by learned churchmen, whom he drew to his court from all quarters, and with whom he delighted to hold conversations on literary and other subjects. The man in whom he placed most confidence, and who, during the greater part of his reign, acted as most intimate friend and adviser, was Alcuin, an Englishman by birth, and perhaps the most cultivated scholar of his time. After having taught for some time in a monastery in York, Alcuin had been sent

on a mission to Rome in 766, when, meeting Charlemagne, who was then in Italy, he was persuaded by him to take up his residence in France. Here Charlemagne gave him three abbeys, and employed him as a kind of prime minister in all matters connected with the church or with the education of his subjects. He caused him, however, to reside continually at court, where he himself, the various members of his family, and all that were attached to his household, formed themselves into a private school, called 'The School of the Palace,' under his tuition. Fond of literary pursuits, Charlemagne studied grammar, rhetoric, music, astronomy, and natural history, under his learned counsellor; and even after he was considerably advanced in years, he took the pains to acquire the art of writing—an accomplishment then very unusual, except among churchmen.

78. Charlemagne was married five times. His first wife was Hermengarde, the daughter of Desiderius, the successor of Astolphus, as king of the Lombards. After a twelvemonth, he repudiated her, and married Hildegarde, a Suevian princess. She, and her successor Fastrade, exercised great influence over him, so that he hardly ventured to refuse anything they asked. After the death of his fifth wife, Lutgarde, he did not marry again. By his various marriages he had six sons and eight daughters; he had also not a few natural children. Of his daughters he was excessively fond; he delighted to have them continually with him; and would never listen to any proposals for giving them away in marriage. The conduct of the young ladies, however, at their father's court was exceedingly dissolute, and cost him no little sorrow in his old age.

79. In almost every respect, Charlemagne deserved to be regarded as a great man. Perhaps, however, his most remarkable characteristics were his prodigious and indefatigable activity, and the large and comprehensive idea he had formed of his duties as a sovereign ruler over millions of human beings. In activity, in a craving desire to be ever doing something, he resembled Napoleon. From the affairs of his own household to the state of the markets, or the monasteries in the most distant

parts of his empire, he made himself acquainted with everything, intermeddled with everything. He wearied out all about him by his astonishing powers of invention and labour, and the amount of work he exacted from them. Even Alcuin gave way under the immense load of business which his master imposed upon him, and was glad at last to resign his official connection with the court, and retire into the leisure of more private life, keeping up his intercourse with Charles only by correspondence. But this activity was, in the main, wholesome and beneficial, as it was directed by a sound and generous sense of responsibility. The feeling of Charlemagne was, that God had placed him in his high situation, in order that he might use all his faculties of mind and body for the increase of the wellbeing of the mass of the people in the countries which he governed. One quality of a great ruler he had in perfection—the art of seeking out, drawing towards himself, and employing in the public service, all kinds of merit. Whenever he heard of a learned or able man within reach, he was uneasy till he had gained possession of him. Not only Franks, but foreigners of all nations, found in him a munificent patron. Besides Alcuin, he had churchmen from all the lands of Western Europe—Britain, Italy, Spain, and Germany—labouring in various situations suitable to their respective tastes and abilities. It is curious, that the country that furnished him with the greatest number of such learned men was Britain. Alcuin was an Anglo-Saxon, of York; John Mailros, a disciple of Bede, whom Charlemagne sent into Italy to found a school, was a native of the Scottish Lowlands; and Clement, another learned churchman employed by Charlemagne, was an Irishman.

80. A ruling idea with Charles, and one which inspired many of his actions, and perhaps those which were the least permanent or beneficial, was the idea of re-establishing the Roman Empire. This idea, we have seen, was shared by almost all the Germanic chiefs that attained any considerable power; and Charlemagne, though at heart a thorough German, was carried away by it. It was probably to realise this idea, and see himself at the

head of an empire constructed after the model of that whose glorious traditions still lived in the memory of his contemporaries, that he undertook many of those wars and conquests which filled so large a part of his long reign.

81. (2.) *Wars and Conquests of Charlemagne.*—According to a list drawn up by a modern writer of the various expeditions of Charles, from the year 769, when he undertook the first of them, to the year 813, which was the year before his death, these expeditions amounted to fifty-three in all, or about three expeditions, on an average, every two years. The fifty-three expeditions are thus distributed:—Against the Aquitanians of Southern France, one expedition (769); against the Saxons of Germany, eighteen expeditions (772–804); against the Lombards of Italy, five expeditions (773–801); against the Arabs of Spain, seven expeditions (778–809); against the German Thuringians, one expedition (785); against the Avars or Huns of Eastern Germany, four expeditions (788–811); against the Bretons of North-western France, two expeditions (786–811); against the Bavarians of Germany, one expedition (787); against the Slavonian nations between the Elbe and the Oder, four expeditions (789–812); against the Saracens who had settled in Italy, Corsica, and Sardinia, five expeditions (806–813); against the Danes, three expeditions (808–811); against the Greeks of the eastern coast of the Adriatic, two expeditions (809–810). This list will give a notion of the military activity of Charlemagne. As he commanded most of the expeditions in person, it exhibits the vast space over which he marched at the head of his armies—from the northern districts of Spain to Bohemia and the marshes of the Baltic in one direction, and from the westernmost point of Brittany to the extremity of Italy in another. It is necessary, however, to consider these expeditions and their results a little more in detail.

82. It will be observed, that of the fifty-three expeditions, three—the one against the Aquitanians, and the two against the Bretons—were confined to the soil of France. These expeditions, therefore, were not, properly speaking,

conquests; they were but the extension of the Frankish power over districts that it had long claimed the right to govern, but which had hitherto managed, by alternate submission and revolt, to hold out against it. Pepin had broken the power of Aquitaine, and it required but a single expedition of Charlemagne to assert his supremacy over it. The Bretons were, probably, hardier enemies; but two expeditions sufficed to reduce them. These wars of Charlemagne on the soil of France are, accordingly, to be regarded as the last acts in that long struggle by which the Germanic invaders reduced to submission the native Romans of Gaul.

83. Next in point of time to the wars of Charles for the assertion of the Frankish supremacy within the bounds of Gaul, were his wars against the Lombards of Italy. These were wars of political rivalry. Unwilling to see their German brethren, the Lombards, taking possession of Italy, and thus rising to a higher degree of influence in Europe than themselves, the Franks, under Pepin, had rendered hearty assistance to the popes in their opposition to the Lombards. The right of acting as the patron and defender of the popes, was one of the bequests which Charlemagne had received from his father. Accordingly when, in 773, Pope Adrian I., the successor of Stephen III., found the Lombards, under their king, Desiderius, renewing their attacks on the Roman territory, he called on Charlemagne to make good the work which his father had begun, and afford him help. Charlemagne, although Desiderius had been his father-in-law, did not hesitate a moment; but, hastening across the Alps into Italy, fought and defeated Desiderius near Pavia, and, sending him as a prisoner to France, compelled him to enter a monastery. To reward himself for his exertions, he annexed all the Lombard territories to his own, and assumed the Lombard crown. At the same time, he confirmed the donation of his father Pepin, whereby all those portions of Central Italy that had belonged to the Greek exarchate, as well as certain towns and cities of the Lombards, were bestowed on the papal see; in return for which act of generosity, the pope acknowledged him as Patrician of Rome, and Suzerain of

Italy, with the right of ratifying the elections of the popes. Thus, almost at the beginning of his reign, Charles found himself master of Italy. The Lombards, however, especially those of the duchy of Benevento, continued to give him some trouble; and it required several subsequent expeditions to subdue them.

84. The enemies, however, that cost Charles most anxiety, and against whom his wars were most protracted and obstinate, were the fierce nations of Germany Proper —the Saxons, the Bavarians, the Thuringians, &c.—but especially the Saxons. For several centuries, these nations had been making incursions into Frankish Gaul; and though many missionaries had laboured for their conversion, they still remained pagans in their sentiments and practice. The wars against them, therefore, were partly defensive territorial wars, and partly wars of religion. Again and again Charles invaded their country, proceeding as far as the Elbe, chastising them with the utmost severity, and causing them to be baptised by thousands. The levity with which the poor barbarians submitted to the ceremony of baptism, is illustrated by an anecdote told of one of them. It was customary to bestow clean linen dresses on such as came to be baptised; and on one occasion, there being a deficiency of new dresses for the numbers who came, one soldier had an old shirt given him, by way of substitute. Looking at the ragged article with great indignation, he said to the emperor: 'I have been washed here twenty times before, and I always got a clean white linen dress; but this sack is not fit for a swineherd. If I had not given away my own dress, I would not take it.' The repeated incursions and baptisms of Charles at length proved successful. Witikind himself, the most illustrious chieftain of the Saxons, and their ablest leader, was baptised and pardoned; and the whole of Germany was annexed to the dominions of the Franks. But the expeditions of Charles into Germany brought him into contact with new enemies—the Slavonians of the Baltic coasts and Bohemia, and the roving Avars or Huns, who then preyed upon the Slavonians and on Eastern Germany. Several armies were, accordingly, led

against both; and the result was, that Charles extended the frontier of his empire into the Slavonian region of Europe as far as the Oder and the Carpathians, making some of the Slavonian nations his tributaries. His expeditions into these regions also brought him into conflict with the Danes.

85. The wars which Charles carried on against the Saracens of Italy, Corsica, and Sardinia, may be regarded as mere assertions of his right of supremacy over Italy; but his wars against the Moors, or Arabs of Spain, were of a more chivalrous nature. His first expedition against them was in 778, when he advanced as far as Saragossa, conquering Navarre, Aragon, and Catalonia; but in returning from this expedition, he was attacked at Roncesvalles by the united Saracens and Basques, and sustained a defeat. This battle of Roncesvalles is the subject of many Spanish legends: its hero was 'the brave Rolando,' one of the knights or nobles of Charles's court, who was slain after performing the most wonderful feats of valour. The subsequent wars of Charles against the Spanish Arabs were conducted by his sons or his generals; their effect was to add portions of Northern Spain to the Frankish Empire. The wars against the Greeks of Dalmatia, which he undertook towards the close of his life, fortified his frontier on the side of the Adriatic.

86. The general result of all the wars and conquests which we have described was, that by the year 800, Charlemagne, who had inherited from his father Pepin a kingdom scarcely equal to all Gaul, found himself lord of an empire as large as the ancient Roman Empire of the West, and extending from the Ebro, in Spain, to the Oder and the Baltic, and from the coasts of Brittany to the Elbe and the Save. That year may be selected as the climax of his reign, as in it he visited Italy in great state, and was solemnly crowned 'Emperor of the West' by Pope Leo III., the successor of Adrian I., with the title of 'Carolus I., Cæsar Augustus.' His power being thus confirmed, all the world hastened to pay him homage. Petty Saxon kings from England, emirs from Spain, dukes from Italy, chieftains of the Germans and

the Slaves, crowded to his court. The Arabian caliph himself, the celebrated Haroun al Raschid, the fifth of the Abbaside dynasty, exchanged courtesies with his great Christian brother of the West, sending him, amongst other presents, an ape, an elephant, and a curious clock which struck the hours. He even offered him the keys of Jerusalem, which city, the caliph understood, the Christians regarded with the utmost reverence. Nor was the court of Constantinople less courteous than the polished caliph of Bagdad. As early as 793, there had been an exchange of embassies between Charlemagne and Irene, the widow of Leo III., the successor of Constantine Copronymus, and a woman of remarkable talent, who, having dethroned her son, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (788), had continued to govern the Greek Empire in her own name. There was even a proposal, it is said, that Charlemagne should marry Irene; thus uniting the empires of the East and West, and restoring the grand dominion of ancient Rome. This splendid scheme, however, which was strongly urged by the popes, fell to the ground, owing to the opposition of the Greek princess herself; and the empires remained separate. But Irene having been deposed (793), her successor, Nicephorus, entered into friendly correspondence with Charlemagne; acknowledged him as emperor of the West, with the title of Augustus; and agreed to mark a line, passing, it is supposed, from the Raab, in Hungary, to the Gulf of Istria, which should be considered the boundary between the two empires.

87. (3.) *Government and Legislation of Charlemagne.* —Charlemagne was pre-eminently a great ruler. Finding himself at the head of a vast empire, he was engaged in ceaseless efforts to extend one uniform system of government over the whole of it; and though he did not succeed perfectly, he effected much that was permanent and useful. The machinery of government of which he availed himself consisted of two parts—the local and the central. The local government—that is, the government of the special provinces and districts into which his empire was divided—was conducted by permanent

dignitaries, under various names—dukes, counts, vicars, centeniers, *scabini* or sheriffs, &c.—who, residing one or more in each particular locality, acted there as magistrates under the emperor, raising troops, administering justice, preserving order, collecting taxes, and the like. A peculiar class of such functionaries were the *beneficiaries*—that is, proprietors who had received lands in gift from the emperor, and held themselves bound, in return, to uphold the emperor's authority, and execute his commands in the districts where these lands were situated. Such were the local or resident governors of the empire under Charlemagne. For the purposes of central government—that is, for the conveyance of orders to different parts of the empire from the court of Charlemagne, wherever that chanced at any particular moment to be—special messengers or ambassadors were employed, called *missi dominici*, or 'king's emissaries,' sent forth by Charles. These emissaries proceeded to the most distant provinces, authorised to inquire into the conduct of the local agents; to reform what they saw amiss; and to draw up full reports, to be presented to their master on their return. On these *missi dominici*, Charles placed great reliance, and he was very skilful in selecting them.

88. While trusting much to the discretion of the local governors and the *missi dominici*, Charlemagne was constantly occupied in framing laws and instructions, intended to direct these subordinates in their efforts, and to carry out views of his own. These laws and instructions were sometimes prepared by himself alone, with the advice, perhaps, of Alcuin, or some other trustworthy counsellor; but sometimes they were concocted in parliaments, or general assemblies of the chief nobles and clergy, summoned to meet the king at his palace. Two such parliaments or councils were summoned every year; and between the years 770 and 813, the chroniclers enumerate no fewer than thirty-five parliaments of Charlemagne, in which important business was transacted. The usual form of such parliaments was, for the emperor to submit to the assembled dignitaries certain *capitula* or heads which he had previously prepared, and to which he wished

them to confine their deliberations. These capitula were then freely discussed, sometimes in the emperor's presence, and sometimes in his absence; the opinions of all were freely stated, and recommendations founded on them were given to the emperor; but in the end, the right of accepting or rejecting these recommendations, and of preparing the necessary law, came back to the emperor himself. There was no voting, or passing of laws, as in modern parliaments; Charlemagne was the sole depositary of the supreme power.

89. From the fact that the laws of Charlemagne were usually prepared from capitula or heads drawn up by the emperor himself, all the laws, enactments, deeds, decisions, or imperial documents of his reign, are now usually included under the general title of *The Capitularies of Charlemagne.* To his reign belong sixty-five distinct capitularies, or issues of laws; and as almost every capitulary contained a number of separate capitula, heads, or articles, the entire number of articles in these sixty-five capitularies amounted to 1150. Classifying these 1150 articles according to their subjects, a modern writer has reduced them to eight heads:—1. *Moral Legislation*, consisting of mere advices, suggestions, or moral precepts, sent forth by Charlemagne to his subjects; 2. *Political Legislation*, consisting of all enactments and provisions relative to official situations, courts of justice, police, pauperism, the relations of the church to the state, &c.; 3. *Penal or Criminal Legislation*, consisting chiefly of re-enactments of the old laws of the Salic, Ripuarian, Lombard, and Burgundian codes, relative to crimes; 4. *Civil Legislation*, consisting of similar re-enactments, with some changes, of laws relating to marriage, inheritance, the position of women, debts, &c.; 5. *Religious Legislation*, consisting of recommendations and enactments relative to the preaching of the Gospel, the conduct of the clergy in their dealings with the Christian people, and the like; 6. *Canonical Legislation*, consisting of laws for the internal government of the church; 7. *Domestic Legislation*, consisting of instructions for the management of the emperor's private domains; 8. *Occasional Legislation*,

consisting of a few miscellaneous articles not referrible to any of the foregoing heads.

90. The great monarch, whose character and actions we have thus sketched, died of pleurisy at Aix-la-Chapelle in January 814, and was intombed with pomp in the cathedral of that town. He was succeeded by his son Louis *le Débonnaire*, or Louis 'the Gentle,' whom he had associated with him in the empire before his death. The popular name of this sovereign, who is also known in French history as Louis I., indicates his character. Educated with great care by priests, he was extremely religious and conscientious; nor was he deficient in talent; but he was by far too weak and timid to exercise the important trust which his father had bequeathed to him. Accordingly, in his reign the empire of Charlemagne began to fall to pieces.

91. In 817, Louis le Débonnaire associated his eldest son Lothaire with himself in the empire. At the same time, he made his second son, Pepin, Duke of Aquitaine, and conferred the kingdom of France on his third son, Louis. Upon a fourth son, Charles, born to him by a second wife, he bestowed at a later period the sovereignty of Alemannia, which included Swabia and Switzerland. His intention in making these partitions during his life, was partly to provide for his sons, and partly to secure, by subdivision, better government for the various parts of his empire. He meant still to retain in his own hands the supremacy of the whole. But no sooner had the partition been made, than the sons, forming alliances with the most powerful and discontented of the dukes and princes of the empire, began to plot against their father and against each other. During more than twenty years, the empire was torn by civil wars; twice the monarch was deposed, and as often was he restored to power. At length, broken-hearted by the unnatural treatment he had received from his sons, and especially from the three elder, he died at Mentz in 840, leaving his three surviving sons—Lothaire, Louis, and Charles—to contend for the possession of his dominions.

92. After various wars and intrigues, the three brothers

came to an agreement at Verdun (843), and divided the empire among them as follows :—I. The eldest, Lothaire, usually called Lothaire I., was to retain the title of emperor, and to receive, under the name of 'the Kingdom of Italy,' the following portions of the empire of Charlemagne :—(1.) Italy Proper; and (2.) The countries lying between the Rhone and the Meuse on the west, and the Alps and the Rhine on the east; namely, Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, Switzerland, Franche Comté, part of Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace, and part of the Netherlands. II. Louis, who is usually styled Louis the German, obtained, under the name of 'the Kingdom of Germany,' all the lands included by the Rhine, the North Sea, the Elbe, and the Alps. III. Charles, styled Charles *le Chauve*, or Charles the Bald, obtained 'the Kingdom of France,' comprehending the whole of France to the west of his brother Lothaire's dominions, together with the parts of Spain lying north of the Ebro. Charles the Bald may, therefore, be regarded as the first king of modern France; his ancestors having been kings of 'the Franks.'

93. But the progress of dismemberment was not arrested by this subdivision of the great empire of the Franks into the three kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy. In each of the three kingdoms, the same causes of dissolution were at work—the incapacity of the sovereigns themselves for the task of ruling; the ambition of the local chieftains, dukes, and beneficiaries, who, though only the agents of the imperial power under Charlemagne, now sought to be independent; the diversity of race and of languages among the ostensible subjects of the same monarch; and various others, too numerous to be mentioned. The result was, that, in the course of forty years after the treaty of Verdun, each of the three kingdoms was virtually broken up into fragmentary states, having little or no connection with each other. Meanwhile, the three brothers continued their semblance of rule, holding parliaments, issuing capitularies, and sending forth *missi dominici*, in imitation of their grandfather. They even bequeathed their thrones to their heirs. Lothaire, dying in 855, after a savage and lawless reign, Charles and

Louis divided his kingdom of Italy between them. At the death of Louis in 877, his three sons, Carlomann, Louis, and Charles, surnamed *Le Gros*, or 'the Fat,' shared his dominions. Two of the brothers dying not long afterwards, Charles the Fat obtained possession of their territories in addition to his own. Charles the Bald, having died about the same time (877), was succeeded by his son Louis *le Bègue*, or 'the Stammerer,' called also Louis II., who reigned, however, only two years, leaving the kingdom of France (879) to his three sons—Louis, Carlomann, and Charles, surnamed 'the Simple.' These princes being young, Charles the Fat availed himself of the disturbed state of France to gain possession of the sovereignty of that kingdom (884), in addition to the sovereignty of Germany and Italy, which he already held.

94. Thus once more was the empire of Charlemagne reunited in the person of one of his great-grandsons. But the union was only momentary. Charles the Fat had no abilities; his government was but a mockery; and in 887, he was simultaneously deposed by his German, his French, and his Italian subjects. He died in the same year. With him the line of the Carlovingian monarchs may be considered to have ended. The empire pursued its natural career of dismemberment, falling asunder into numerous states and kingdoms, some of which are perpetuated in the existing division of Europe.



LEADING FEATURES IN THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THIS PERIOD.

95. It has been said that the introduction and spread of Christianity imparted a new character to the ancient communities within the Roman Empire. The Church—by which is here meant the whole ecclesiastical body—became gradually a great power in every state, and, while, to a certain extent, affecting civil polity, was modified in turn by the ordinary secular jurisdictions. Whatever was the exact nature of the priestly office in the earliest ages of the church, it is certain that the authority exercised by the bishops and archbishops, and the councils over which they presided, served in some measure as a barrier, under Providence, against the stern rule of barbarous monarchs and chieftains during the middle ages. The church, in short, stood between the sovereign and the illiterate and helpless people, over whom it threw the shelter of its name and ordinances.

96. Amidst the unsettled state of society in these troublous times, there arose another institution which exerted an influence over the wild passions of men. This was the monastic system, which was ultimately allied to the church. The practice of religious retirement was of great antiquity, being known under the systems of heathenism and Judaism. As a usage among Christians, it became prominently known about the middle of the third century, when *monks* and *nuns* respectively began, under voluntarily undertaken obligations, to live in separate communities.

97. From Egypt, as its centre, monachism spread first eastward, and soon became a greatly abused institution. In the latter half of the fourth century, the lands of the East swarmed with fanatics of various kinds, assuming the

general designation of monks. Some of them dwelt in caverns, or on the tops of trees and pillars, while crowds came to receive edification from gazing at them. Others wandered about clothed in rags, and living on mean diet, while all, more or less, preyed on the industrious part of the community, having themselves repudiated everything like an industrious calling. These abuses having attracted the notice of the clergy, some of the most learned and venerated bishops of the East, and especially St Basil, bishop of Cæsarea (326-379), endeavoured to put the practice of monachism on a better footing. With this view he established a kind of model monastery in Pontus, and framed a set of regulations for the government of such institutions in general.

98. This code, generally known as the Rule of St Basil, was extensively adopted throughout the East, and imparted to monastic life the form in which it was introduced to the West. Here, however, it was at first exceedingly unpopular, and the monk with his pallid countenance, shaven head, and sombre cloak, was hooted and pelted by the common people almost wherever he appeared. Gradually, however, the more orderly monks gained the veneration of the populace, and were even held up to the clergy as examples of holy Christian life. Nor was this altogether undeserved; for, though there were instances of disorderly extravagance in the West as well as the East, yet it would seem that for several centuries the monasteries were the most favoured asylums of piety and learning. Almost the only redeeming features of the middle ages, are to be found in the labours of certain orders of monks in instructing the poor and ignorant, while they themselves diligently studied the ancient languages, and preserved the precious remains of classic antiquity.

99. At first, monks were generally laymen; but in time, they all belonged to the priestly order, and came under vows of perpetual chastity and submission to the higher ecclesiastical authorities. The monastic system arrived at maturity in the sixth century, and greatly through the arrangements prescribed by the famous St Benedict, a personage sprung from a wealthy Italian family. Benedict

early embraced a religious life, and sequestered himself as a hermit in a cavern of the Campagna di Roma. In 528, he was able to form a monastery of men, trained by himself according to a new and severe regimen. This included, in addition to the usual monastic vows, that of implicit and unquestioning obedience to superiors, and the novel feature of industrious occupation. Under this rule, a monastery was not to be a place of mere religious idleness or learned repose; its inmates were to labour with their hands, agriculture being recommended as the most suitable occupation for them; so that in the middle ages the Benedictine monks were the best husbandmen in Europe—a singular addition to their usefulness and respectability.

100. The Rule of St Benedict spread with great rapidity. Before his death (543), it had found its way into almost every part of Europe; and in the reign of Charlemagne, there was scarcely a Frankish monastery that did not follow it. Now the clergy went in crowds into the monasteries, and the monks took holy orders in the church; so that the two classes gradually came to be considered as parts of one institution: the churchmen proper—that is, the bishops and parish priests—being distinguished as the secular clergy; while the monks received the appellation of the regular clergy—that is, clergy bound by the rules of a particular order.

101. Important features of the ecclesiastical history of this period, are to be found in the schism which gradually arose between the Eastern and Western, or, as they are also called, the Greek and the Latin Churches, and the supremacy which the bishop of Rome gradually attained over the latter.

102. Disposed by their habits of thought to disputation and subtilty, the Greek theologians had moulded the doctrines of the church into the form in which they were given abroad to the world. It was among them that the early heresies of Gnosticism, Arianism, Sabellianism, Manicheism, Nestorianism, found their origin, and among them also that these errors were successfully resisted by the champions of orthodoxy. The whole intellectual activity

of the Greek Church during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, may be said to have been occupied with the discussion of these and other similar dogmas. It was about the beginning of the eighth century that these controversies began to disappear, and the doctrines of the Greek Church to assume a settled form. The *Treatise*, purporting to be an exact account of the orthodox faith, by John Damascenus, or John of Damascus, usually styled the last of the Greek fathers, completed the standard of theological orthodoxy; and from the time of its appearance (730) till the present, no important change has occurred in the creed of the Greek Church.

103. Meanwhile the Latin or Roman Christians had been led into a somewhat different course. They had at first received Christianity from the East; and the heresies alluded to had been combated among them in a similar manner. Except that of the Arians, however, none of these took deep root, and this also gradually gave way before the Catholic or orthodox doctrine. But the West gave birth to one controversy which was peculiar to itself, and which may be traced in various forms throughout the ecclesiastical history of Western Europe even to the present day. This was the doctrine of Pelagius, a British monk, who, having settled in Rome about the year 405, began to preach his peculiar views respecting the freewill of man, and his personal responsibility in the matter of his salvation, in opposition to the extreme views of sovereign grace and predestination, which were generally received as the only true faith. It was this heresy that called forth the zeal and developed the talents of St Augustine and St Jerome, and which, being of a much more philosophical nature than any of the heresies of the East, gave a decided impulse to the intellect of Western Christendom, awakening a spirit of inquiry into questions of practical and vital importance, such as has never been stirred among the churches of the East. If we add, that the belief in a future purgatory seems to have prevailed in the West as early as the sixth century, whereas the Greek Church never admitted it; that the Latin Church began to enforce the celibacy of the clergy, while the Greek permitted

them to marry; and that in the West the use of carved images was allowed and encouraged as an aid to devotion, while the Greek Church utterly condemned it—we have noted the only differences worthy of remark between the two churches in matters of doctrine and worship.

104. A great difference, however, is to be marked in the relative positions of the two churches. In the East, the ecclesiastical system, with its supreme patriarch, its bishops, and its councils, remained comparatively entire, and in the same kind of connection with the civil power in which it was originally placed. The patriarchs of Constantinople were nominally the ecclesiastical heads of the Greek Empire, but subject in no small degree to the power of the imperial court; the various gradations of its clergy were strictly maintained; and the decrees of its general councils were unhesitatingly received as binding upon the whole church.

105. But a great change had come over the external relations of the Church of the West. Here the effect of the Germanic invasions had been to break up the ecclesiastical organisation, and materially to alter the relative position of the clergy. From the fifth to the eighth century, the Church of the West may be said to have been represented in the bishops alone, each bishop acting independently in the government of his own see. The power of the archbishops was virtually extinct; councils of the church were seldom held; and the bishops, appointed generally by secular princes, were rendered independent of any ecclesiastical control. Besides an increase of power from these causes, the authority of the bishops was much strengthened by an assumed prerogative in dispensing the general funds of the church. These funds had in many quarters attained great importance, by means of permanent endowments in lands and revenues, and also of the ordinary and periodical contributions of the people. The latter were originally the freewill-offerings of the faithful; but the clergy first recommended, and finally enforced, the Jewish practice of setting apart the tithe or tenth of each individual's yearly income for the maintenance of the priesthood. The gradual process by which this point was attained cannot

now be exactly traced, but it would seem that before the close of the eighth century, the payment of tithes had become an established obligation.

106. During the seventh and eighth centuries, complaints arose respecting the administration of these funds by the bishops, as well as of the severities which these functionaries employed in the government of the church. That in numberless instances the bishops acted tyrannically in the exercise of their jurisdiction, is perhaps true; but accusations of this kind require to be received with extreme caution; for it is certain that among the inferior clergy, there was a degree of ignorance and disorder which required the most vigilant discipline. To appease the general discontent, and modify the ecclesiastical rule, the kings of the Frankish Empire thought proper to interfere. Charles Martel introduced several salutary reforms into the church-government; Pepin Le Bref carried on the reforms with prudence and success, restoring the power of the metropolitans, and summoning frequent convocations; Charlemagne applied the whole force of his indefatigable mind to the work thus begun by his predecessors; and neither bishop nor monastery could escape his notice. He advised, encouraged, and remonstrated; and where such efforts were unavailing, he used reproof, compulsion, and punishment. By a judicious exercise of patronage, he endeavoured to supply his empire with dignitaries of superior abilities and unblemished character; over the men thus appointed, he maintained as strict and vigilant a control as over his civil officials. He procured canons from the pope, and saw them vigorously put in execution; he fostered the power of the archbishops; summoned frequent convocations; and, in short, during his whole reign, acted as the head of the Frankish church as well as of the Frankish state.

107. His successors, Louis Débonnaire and Charles the Bald (814–877), followed in the same path; and in the reign of the former, the organisation of the clergy into chapters, which had been already found beneficial, was rendered imperative throughout the empire. This institution had originated in the previous century, when Crodigan, bishop of Metz, finding it difficult to govern the priests in

their scattered dwellings, conceived the idea of inducing them to live in numbers together under certain rules, somewhat like those of the monasteries. The canons, as these associated priests were called, found their influence over the people much increased, and this order became a powerful instrument in the hands of the later Carlovingians for restoring order to the church. Meanwhile, there was growing up another power which was to take the ecclesiastical government out of the hands of the secular rulers, and to do for the whole Latin Church what the energy of the Frankish monarchs had laboured to accomplish in one particular portion of it. This was the domination of the Roman pontiff.

108. It has been already noticed (Introduction, 10), that, during the first four centuries, the patriarch bishops of Rome held a high and influential place in the Western Church. The causes of this pre-eminence probably were: The importance of Rome as a city; the wealth of the see, and the abilities of some of its earlier occupants; the virtual independence in which its bishops were left when the seat of empire was transferred to Constantinople; the influence which these prelates exercised in municipal affairs, especially when orderly government had been subverted by the Germanic invasions. Doubtless, also, the fact, that Rome never was completely in the hands of any of the barbarians, rendered it a point to which all the subjects of that now fallen empire still looked with hope, while suffering under the oppression of their new masters.

109. The successive bishops of this venerated city, finding themselves thus invested with a moral power possessed by none of their brethren, seem gradually to have used it as a right. They corresponded diligently with the principal bishops of other countries; decided with care such questions as were referred to them; and even addressed advice and rebuke to the temporal princes of Western Europe. By degrees, out of this practice of power there arose a theory of supremacy; and it was at length asserted, that, as the successors of St Peter, they inherited that 'power of the keys' which had been conferred by the Saviour on the zealous Apostle. There is evidence that the claim of a

primacy over all other churches, and of being the great referee in important cases, was admitted by the Spanish clergy so early as the year 538. The Church of England, having owed its origin to missionaries sent direct from Rome during the papacy of Gregory the Great (590–604), stood to the Church of Rome in the relation of a daughter to a mother, and was not likely to question her authority. The German Church was bound by similar obligations of filial duty. In Italy itself, however, the Roman pontiffs were controlled on the one hand by the Lombards, who paid them little respect, and on the other hand by the Greek exarchs, within whose jurisdiction the city was included. In Gaul, also, as we have seen, the right of control over the church was firmly held by the civil power. But the time came for both Italy and Gaul to yield submission to the Holy See. The steps by which the popes extricated themselves from the difficulties of their position in Italy have been already related; how they renounced their allegiance to the Greek emperors during the iconoclastic controversy, and sought the alliance of the Lombards; and how they finally delivered themselves from the Lombards by accepting the assistance of the Frankish monarchs. At the close of this struggle, an element was added to their power, which placed them thenceforward in an entirely new position. Till that time they had been but ecclesiastics, possessed, like other ecclesiastics, of property in lands and houses; but they were now raised to the dignity of secular princes by the celebrated grants of Pepin and Charlemagne (respectively in 756 and 773), conferring on them the territories of Central Italy, which had been taken from the Greek emperors and the Lombards. The relation in which the papacy and the Frankish monarchy stood to each other during the reign of Charlemagne is best typified by the fact, that while Charlemagne received his crown as emperor of the West from the hands of the pope, he retained, as one of his imperial privileges, the right of confirming the election of each new nominee to the papacy.

110. This state of things, however, did not long continue; the popes had not abandoned the theory of their

supremacy, though thus far practically yielding to the overwhelming genius of Charlemagne. Under his successors, they began to deal more absolutely with the Frankish clergy, who at first retaliated, and disclaimed the assumed authority; but finally submitted to the powerful genius of Pope Nicholas I. (858–867), who is to be regarded as the first of the Roman pontiffs who realised the long-cherished hope of universal primacy in the West.

111. As the papacy of Nicholas I. is the date of the papal supremacy, so is it the epoch of the first decided rupture between the Latin and the Greek Churches. For more than a century, a controversy had been pending between the popes and the patriarchs of Constantinople, relative to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Illyricum, Macedonia, Achaia, and Sicily, which had formerly been reputed as belonging to the Roman see, but which the patriarch now claimed on the ground that they were portions of the Greek Empire. In the papacy of Nicholas I., the fury of this dispute was increased by a new quarrel. The Bulgarians, and other Slavonian nations of South-eastern Europe, having been converted, partly by missionaries from Rome, partly by missionaries from the East, it was disputed whether they should rank as subjects of the Latin or of the Greek Church. Photius, who was then patriarch of Constantinople (853–886), was a man of equal resolution with Nicholas; and he formally annexed the converted Bulgarians to his patriarchate. Nicholas called a council at Rome (862); declared the election of Photius to the patriarchate to have been illegal; and excommunicated him and his abettors. Photius retaliated by assembling a council at Constantinople (866); excommunicating the pope; and declaring the creed of the Western Church to be in some points heretical. Such was the first open rupture between the Greek or Eastern and the Latin or Western Church.

PERIOD II.—THE FEUDAL PERIOD—888–1300 A.D.

HISTORY OF THE WEST: STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE EMPERORS AND THE POPES.

112. On the death of Charles the Fat in 888, the great empire of the Franks was finally dissolved, and the various countries that had been united in it became separate kingdoms. The crown of *France* itself was bestowed by the nobles of that country on one of themselves—Otho, Count of Paris. His claims, however, were disputed by the Carlovingian prince, Charles the Simple, son of Louis the Stammerer; and on the death of Otho in 898, Charles was acknowledged as king. *Italy* fell into a greater state of anarchy than France. There was still nominally a 'Kingdom of Italy,' which was contended for by several noble houses; but in reality the country was divided into various governments, of which the most powerful were the government of the popes in Central, and that of the Dukes of Benevento in Southern Italy. In *Germany*, the crown was conferred by the election of the noble houses on Arnulph, Duke of Carinthia, a natural son of Carloman, the elder brother of Charles the Simple; and from that time forward, the royal dignity in Germany continued to be elective. Besides the three great kingdoms of France, Italy, and Germany, however, there arose out of the dissolved empire of the Franks several smaller sovereignties; the chief of which were those of *Lorraine*, *Burgundy*, and *Navarre*. Lorraine, which included the provinces between the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, had been constituted into a separate kingdom for Lothaire, a son of Lothaire I.; but after his death, it became a subject of contention between the German and French crowns. Burgundy comprehended at first two kingdoms—the kingdom of Provence,

or Cisjurane Burgundy, the founder of which was Boson, a nobleman who, having been raised to high honours by Charles the Bald, was able (879) to assume the dignity of an independent king; and the kingdom of Transjurane Burgundy, including parts of Switzerland and Savoy, the founder of which was Rodolph Welf or Guelph, a nobleman whom fortune enabled to play a part similar to that of Boson. On the death of Boson, Rodolph encroached on Cisjurane Burgundy; and ultimately both the Burgundies were united under his government (930), and his descendants became kings of Burgundy. In a similar manner, Navarre, a province south of the Pyrenees, which Charlemagne had conquered from the Arabs of Spain, and which had been governed under the Frankish kings by viceroys appointed by them, was able, after the death of Charles the Fat, to become an independent state.

113. Such were the separate states into which the empire of the Franks was dismembered towards the close of the ninth century. Before proceeding with their history, however, it is necessary to notice certain changes produced in the state of Europe generally by the irruptions during the ninth and tenth centuries of two new invading races—the Magyars or Hungarians, and the Normans.

114. The Hungarians.—We have already observed, that from the earliest times the great Slavonian race which occupied Eastern Europe, shewed a tendency to divide itself into three fragments—the northern Slavonians, corresponding to the present Russians; the Lekhs, or middle Slavonians; and the Czechs, or southern Slavonians. The different influences that had operated upon this portion of Europe from the fifth to the ninth century—including the pressure upon the Slavonian populations of the Frankish monarchs on the one hand, and the Greek emperors on the other—had assisted to develop these spontaneous tendencies of the Slavonians towards separate nationalities; and, accordingly, before the ninth century, various obscure aggregations of the Lekhish and Czechish tribes had been formed under such names as the

Lithuanians, the *Poles*, the *Bohemians*, the *Moravians*, the *Servians*, the *Croats*, &c.; each possessing a distinct territory, and acknowledging a separate government, though all retaining their common Slavonian language and superstitions. One cause which acted very powerfully on the Czechs, or southern Slavonians—to which branch the Bohemians and Moravians belong—was their liability to invasion by the Asiatic hordes, which were continually pushing westward from the Caspian along the northern shore of the Black Sea. Many such invading hordes of Asiatics must have ravaged the Slavonian territories during the early centuries of the Christian era; but of these only the *Huns*, the *Bulgarians*, the *Chazars*, and the *Avars*, left permanent effects. About the middle of the ninth century, another Asiatic race, that of the *Magyars*, or *Hungarians*, followed in the route of the previous invasions. They belonged to the same family of nations as the Turks; and having left their native region to the north of the Caspian, kept gradually advancing into Europe till about the year 887, when, under a chief named Arpad, they settled on the banks of the Danube, and, subjugating the Slavonians round about, formed the Magyar-Slavonian kingdom of Hungary—a kingdom, the ruling caste of which was the Asiatic or Magyar invaders, and the subject caste the native Slavonians. From that time forward, the Hungarians were a formidable power in Eastern Europe.

115. The Normans.—In the interval between the subversion of the old Roman Empire and the ninth century, the Scandinavian countries from which the German races had originally issued, pursued their natural course, each petty Scandinavian king ruling over the territory that acknowledged him. About the year 870, however, the natural tendency of small tribes to aggregation began to shew itself in this part of the world; and there arose the two powerful Scandinavian kingdoms of Norway and Sweden. The founder of the Norwegian kingdom was Harold Haarfager, or Harold 'the Fair-haired,' who, by subduing the neighbouring kings, raised himself (870–895) from the condition of a petty chief to that

of the monarch of all the tribes inhabiting Norway. About the same time, a similar process of conquest among the principalities of Sweden raised Eric, a Swedish chief, to the sovereignty of that country, of which Upsala became the capital. Denmark and the adjacent islands continued for some time longer in a state of division into small kingships; but there, too, the tendency to union was at work; and before the close of the ninth century (899), Gorm, king of the island of Zealand, became king of Denmark and the Danish isles. These changes were not effected without much opposition on the part of the conquered chiefs and their adherents; many of whom, on being dispossessed, engaged in a life of roving adventure, rather than yield to the new rule imposed upon them. The dispossessed Swedish chiefs and their adherents, crossing the Baltic in ships, or advancing by land round its northern coast, made incursions on the Slavonian territories lying to the east and the south of that sea, defeating the native tribes, and in some cases establishing Scandinavian sovereignties amongst them. Thus, in the year 862, Ruric, the leader of a band of Swedish adventurers, advanced into Russia as far as Novgorod, and there established, under the name of the Grand Dukedom of Russia or Muscovy, a Scandinavian-Slavonian state, which he bequeathed to his descendants, and which constituted the beginning of the great European power subsequently known as Russia. The dispossessed Norwegian and Danish chiefs, on the other hand, were obliged, by their position, to pursue their career of adventure rather on sea than on land, and rather towards the west than towards the east. Embarking on board their vessels, and steering boldly into the Atlantic and the North Sea, these 'Vikings' or 'Sea-kings,' as they were called, became the terror of the populations along the coasts on which they appeared. Some of them going as far as Iceland, which had then recently been discovered, settled there, carrying their Scandinavian manners, language, and traditions with them; so that Iceland became more intensely Scandinavian than Scandinavia itself. Others conquered the Shetland and the

Orkney Islands, the Faröe Islands, and the Isle of Man; seized parts of the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and even ravaged the coasts of France and the Mediterranean. It was these last that became known to the nations of continental Europe under the name of *Normans;* though this name, which properly means merely 'Northmen,' is applied indiscriminately to all the Scandinavian marauders, whether from Norway, Sweden, or Denmark, who then pursued their devastations by sea and by land. Bold and valiant men, their activity was not solely that of spoilers; wherever they settled, they left the impress of a strong and powerful character; and as the earliest navigators of the northern seas, they opened up communications between distant coasts, and are even believed to have discovered the continent of America in the tenth century.

116. Of all the bands of Norman adventurers, none became more celebrated than those who, under Rolf or Rollo, a young Norwegian chief whom Harold Haarfager had dispossessed (895), directed their ravages against France. Previous bands of Normans had attacked this country, sailing up the Seine and the Loire, so as to reach the very centre of the kingdom, and even sacking Paris itself; but Rollo's band proved the most formidable of all. Settling in the city of Rouen, which was obliged to capitulate to him (898), Rollo gradually extended his power along the banks of the Seine, till at last (912) the French king, Charles the Simple, found it necessary formally to yield to him the lands which he had conquered in the north-west of France. These lands were, accordingly, thenceforward called *Normandy;* and Rollo and his successors, as 'Dukes of Normandy,' became vassals of the French crown. Rollo, who, like the rest of his countrymen, had been a pagan of the religion of Odin, embraced Christianity at the time of his marriage with the daughter of the French king; and his Scandinavian companions, intermarrying with the French among whom they had settled, became the progenitors of a new Norman race—the French Normans—in whom were blended, in a remarkable manner, the stern strength and adventurous spirit of the

Scandinavian, with the lightness and suppleness of the French character.

117. The reader is now in a position to understand the following survey of the states of Europe, and summary view of their histories individually, during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Particular attention must be given to *it*; as, without such a previous enumeration, the general history of Europe during subsequent times will not be intelligible :—

118. I. SPAIN AND ITS KINGDOMS.—Beginning with the south-western portion of the map of Europe, we find that the country called Spain did not constitute in the tenth century, as it does now, one virtually united territory, but was divided into two clusters of kingdoms—the Arabic or Moorish kingdoms of the south, and the Christian kingdoms of the north. (1.) *The Arabic Kingdoms of Spain.*—It will be remembered that when, by a revolution at Damascus, the caliphate or sovereign power of the vast Arabian Empire was transferred from the dynasty of the Ommiades to that of the Abbasides in the year 749, the Ommiades still kept possession of Spain, and established there a line of Mohammedan princes independent of the caliphate. These Ommiade kings, or caliphs as they were called, of Spain, continued to rule without interruption for more than two centuries and a half, governing their Moorish and Spanish subjects from their capital of Cordova by means of viceroys or lieutenants holding courts in the other Spanish cities. At first, they were formidable neighbours to the Christian states of Europe; but more recently they were kept in check by the Frankish kings, and their dominion confined to southern Spain. Even here, however, their power was weakened by internal dissensions; and at length, in 1005, there was a revolution at Cordova, which led to the deposition of the caliph Haschem, then reigning, and a few years later (1027) to the extinction of the caliphate itself. The various Moorish viceroys seized each on the city and district with the government of which he had been intrusted; and thus there arose out of the ruins of the caliphate a

great number of petty Moorish kingdoms, the most considerable of which were those of Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Lisbon, Saragossa, Tortosa, Valencia, and Murcia. (2.) *The Christian Kingdoms of Spain.*—Even at the time when the Arabs made themselves masters of the peninsula, it will be remembered one little Christian state was able to maintain its independence—the kingdom of Asturias, founded by the Gothic chieftain Pelayo in the Western Pyrenees. This kingdom, likewise called the kingdom of Oviedo, and subsequently the kingdom of Leon, increased in power under its native kings as the power of the caliphs of Cordova waned. But, as has been already mentioned, there soon arose another Christian state in Spain to be its ally and rival—the kingdom of Navarre, formed out of the provinces in Northern Spain conquered by Charlemagne from the Arabs, and which became independent when the empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces. The two kingdoms of Leon and Navarre, with two smaller states called counties—namely, the county of Castile, which had broken off from the kings of Leon, and the county of Barcelona, which acknowledged the sovereignty of the French kings—remained for some time under separate governments, but were at length united under the rule of Sancho the Great, king of Navarre. As this occurred about the time of the destruction of the caliphate of Cordova, it seemed likely that the Christians would again get the whole Spanish peninsula into their hands; but on the death of Sancho (1035) his dominions were again subdivided—his eldest son, Don Garcias, obtaining the crown of Navarre, and becoming the progenitor of a line of kings of Navarre; while another son, Don Ferdinando, became king of Leon and Castile; and a third son, Don Ramira, became the first sovereign of a new kingdom, called the kingdom of Aragon.

119. II. France.—Charles the Simple reigned in France from the year 898 to the year 922, when he was set aside by his nobles, and Robert, Duke of Francia, the brother of his predecessor, Otho, was chosen in his stead. Robert reigned but one year, and on his death the sovereignty was conferred on Rudolph, Duke of Burgundy; during

whose reign (923–936) Charles the Simple died in prison. Louis IV., however, the son of Charles, and surnamed 'the Stranger' on account of his having lived long in exile, returned to France on the death of Rudolph, and regained his paternal kingdom; which he bequeathed to his successors—Lothaire (954–986), and Louis V., surnamed the 'Sluggard.'

120. During these reigns nothing of great importance was transacted in France. The activity of the kings was chiefly devoted to a contest with the German kings for the possession of Lorraine. This territory passed into the hands of Charles the Simple in 912, but was again re-annexed to Germany in the reign of Rudolph. Indeed, during the tenth century, the royal dignity in France was more a title than a reality. The kingdom was split up into a great number of fiefs, the holders of which were almost independent. Of these fiefs there were seven immediately dependent on the crown—the dukedom of Francia, including the country between the Seine and the Loire; the dukedom of Normandy and Bretagne, held by the family of the Norwegian Rollo; the dukedom of Guienne or Aquitania; the dukedom of Burgundy; the county of Toulouse; the county of Flanders; and the county of Vermandois. The holders of these great fiefs were in reality powerful princes, recognised as such by all Europe, and owing but a nominal allegiance to the French kings. Nor were these divisions of France merely artificial. There were differences also of language and manners between the various sections of the kingdom. On the whole, the inhabitants of Northern France were the more daring and warlike; those of Southern France, the more subtle and industrious.

121. Still there was a tendency to national unity in France; and this tendency gained strength on the accession to the throne, in the year 987, of a new dynasty in the person of Hugh Capet, Duke of Francia, whose surname of *Capet* is supposed to have been derived from the *cappa*, or robe, which he wore as a lay-abbot. His accession was brought about by his own vassals and connections on the death of Louis V., in whom the Carlovingian line of

France became extinct; and from that time the throne of France descended regularly in the family of the Capets. The first three kings of this line after its founder Hugh, were his son Robert (996–1031), who increased the kingly power by adding the ducal fief of Burgundy to the crown-possessions; Henry (1031–1060); and Philip I. (1060–1108).

122. III. THE BRITISH ISLANDS.—Till the ninth century, these islands had existed in that state of political subdivision which prevailed everywhere after the destruction of the Roman Empire. England was divided into seven Saxon kingdoms, founded by the Germanic chiefs who had conquered the country in the sixth century; Scotland was divided into two parts by the mutual hostility of its aboriginal races—the Picts and the Scots; and Ireland was divided into five districts, under the five native Celtic chieftains of Connaught, Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Meath. In the ninth century, however, the foundations of national unity were laid in England and Scotland—in England, by Egbert, king of Wessex or the West Saxons (800), who, after a series of struggles, broke the power of the other kings, and extended his dominion over the whole country; in Scotland, by Kenneth II. (842), king of the Scots, who, in a similar manner, put an end to the kingdom of the Picts. The power which Egbert had established in England was confirmed by his grandson Alfred the Great (871–901), under whose able rule England came to be recognised as one of the most important of the European kingdoms. After the death of Alfred, however, England, and indeed the whole of Britain, became a prey to the Scandinavian freebooters from Denmark and Norway. Norwegian chiefs landing in the north of Scotland, converted the half of it into a Norwegian kingdom; and for a period of twenty-six years (1016–1042), England was actually under Danish rule. The complete conquest of England, however, was reserved for the Normans, or naturalised Scandinavians of France, under the celebrated William, Duke of Normandy, who landed at Hastings, on the 14th of October 1066, with 60,000 followers; and after defeating the native forces under the last of the

Anglo-Saxon descendants of Egbert, made himself master of the whole of England. The details of this great event belong to British history, but the event itself was of European importance, inasmuch as it connected England in a new manner with France, and through France with the rest of the continent. At the time of his conquest of England, William, as Duke of Normandy, was a vassal of the French king, Philip I.; and his immediate heirs thus held rule as kings of England and dukes of Normandy on both sides of the Channel. The effects of the Norman conquest were felt not only in England but also in Scotland, where, though the descendants of Kenneth II. still ruled as kings, many Norman families settled and became the leading nobility of the kingdom. Under the first Norman kings of England, too, the connection between England and Ireland became much more close than it had been before; Norman and English armies being sent over to subdue the Irish chiefs, and annex parts of Ireland to the English crown.

123. IV. Germany.—Of all the portions into which the empire of the Franks was divided, the kingdom of Germany was the one destined to the highest degree of power and influence in Europe. The commencement of this kingdom dates properly from the year 843, when, by the Treaty of Verdun, the three sons of Louis-le-Débonnaire divided the Frankish Empire among them, Germany falling to the share of Louis, thence surnamed 'the German.' During the subsequent troubles, however, Germany had been again reunited to France and Italy, and again separated from them; and it was not till the accession of Arnulph, Duke of Carinthia (887), that Germany entered, under that name, on its peculiar career as a distinct European power. At this time, the kingdom of Germany included, in addition to some cantons on the west bank of the Rhine, all the dominions and conquests of the Franks to the east of that river, from the Eider and the Baltic to the Alps and the confines of Pannonia. This large extent of territory, however, did not constitute properly one integral government, but was parcelled out into a great number of distinct states,

united by a peculiar federal system under one imperial head. While in other feudal countries, such as France and England, the nobles recognised a right in the sovereigns to certain prerogatives attached to their royal pedigree, and were convened by these sovereigns at stated times to consult about public affairs, more in accordance with usage and the pleasure of the sovereign than from any fixed and compulsory rule, in Germany 'the states,' as they were called, or chief noble houses, acquired from the first a more regular authority. Thus, at an assembly, held in the year 851, Louis the German, as king of Germany, had made a formal engagement 'to maintain the states in their rights and privileges; to follow their counsel and advice; and to consider them as true colleagues and coadjutors in all the affairs of government.' And thirty-five years later (886), as we have already seen, the states of Germany had asserted their right—a right asserted in no other kingdom—to *elect* each successive sovereign, instead of accepting the next heir of the last sovereign as a matter of course. Arnulph, Duke of Carinthia, was but one powerful German noble, elected by an assembly of all the German nobles, to wear the German crown.

124. Arnulph was a man of military abilities; and his reign (887–899) was spent in wars against the Normans who harassed Germany on the north, and the Slavonian nations who troubled it on the east, and in wars also undertaken for the purpose of adding Italy and Burgundy to the German dominion. On his death, the states elected his son Lewis, surnamed 'the Child;' and after his short reign (899–911), Conrad, Duke of Franconia, was chosen to succeed him, under the title of Conrad I. This prince (911–918) continued the military undertakings for the increase of the German power, which had been begun by Arnulph. His achievements in this respect, however, were far inferior to those of his successor, Henry I., or 'the Fowler,' of the house of the Dukes of Saxony (918–936), whom, on Conrad's death, the states elected to the German crown. After subduing two other German dukes—the Dukes of Bavaria and Alamania—who disputed his title, Henry invaded Lorraine, and annexed

to the German Empire that territory, so long a subject of dispute between the French and German kings. He also conducted wars against the Danes, the Hungarians, and the Slavonians, extending his dominion at the expense of the last from the Elbe to the Oder. To secure the frontiers of the empire towards the east, he established three Margravates, or 'lordships of the marches'—those of North Saxony, Meissen, and Schleswig; and these margravates, becoming hereditary, formed an addition to the noble German houses. Henry also built many strongholds in different parts of his kingdom, and hence obtained the name of City-builder.

125. Otho I., surnamed 'the Great,' who was elected to succeed his father Henry, more than rivalled him in energy and ability. His reign (936–973) was spent in confirming his own imperial power within Germany, and in extending the power of that state over the contiguous countries of Europe. To check the turbulence of the great dukes, he instituted officers called Counts Palatine, whose business it was to act as lieutenants of the emperor within the duchies. He also imitated his father in creating new fiefs, many of which he conferred on bishops, who thus attained rank and authority in Germany which put them on a level with the great secular lords. He made wars against the Danes, the Hungarians, and the Slavonians, advancing the German frontier at the expense of them all, and invariably as he advanced it, establishing bishoprics to spread Christianity among the populations on which he encroached. Thus Denmark, at the same time that it was compelled by Otho to acknowledge the feudal supremacy of Germany, was induced to renounce paganism; the Duke of Bohemia, who, after various struggles, was obliged to yield, became a Christian, and founded the bishopric of Prague; and it was after having been defeated by Otho, that the Magyars or Hungarians first received lessons in the Christian religion from German missionaries and priests. But far more important than these wars of Otho against the northern and eastern pagan nations, were his wars against Italy. The reduction of Italy to the condition of a fief of the German Empire, was the cherished scheme of the

German emperors, and was prosecuted by none of them more assiduously than by Otho. He made three several campaigns against the Italians. The first, which took place in 951, was undertaken against Berenger II., a prince who maintained a claim to the disputed Italian crown, and who was accused of having murdered his predecessor, Lothaire. Otho defeated Berenger; married Adelaide, the widow of Lothaire, his first wife, Edith, an English princess, being dead; and having been crowned king of the Lombards in Pavia, assumed the rights of an Italian potentate. He did not depose Berenger, but suffered him to retain the title of King of Italy, as a feudal subject of the German crown. Ten years later, however (961), in consequence of complaints sent to Germany of the cruelty of Berenger, Otho undertook a second Italian campaign, and having deposed Berenger, assumed the crown of Italy at Milan. He then visited Rome, and *revived in his own favour the dignity of Emperor of the West.* This title, which continued for more than eight centuries to be borne by his successors on the German throne, was conferred on Otho at a solemn ceremony of consecration and coronation by the reigning pope, John XII., on the 2d of February 962. Seeing reason, however, not long after (964) to be displeased with the conduct of this pope, Otho caused him to be deposed, and a new pope elected, obtaining at the same time a promise, confirmed by an oath, from the clergy and the people of Rome, that they would never afterwards appoint or accept a pope without the consent and sanction of himself or his successors on the German throne. The immense power thus acquired by Otho in Italy, was confirmed by a third campaign, in which he wrested all Southern Italy, with the exception of Apulia, Calabria, and a few maritime towns, from the Greeks. Accordingly, when Otho died, he left Italy and Germany indissolubly connected by ties of sovereignty. In token of the high importance attached by the Germans to this connection, it became an established custom that every German emperor should on his accession receive a triple coronation—first, as king of Germany; secondly, as emperor of the West; and thirdly, as king of Rome. Until the year 1508, no king of

Germany ventured even to assume the title of emperor until he had been formally crowned by the pope.

126. Otho the Great was succeeded by his son Otho II., who had already during his father's life been crowned king of Rome and emperor, and had married the Greek princess Theophania, as a means of extending his power in Southern Italy. His reign (973–983) was feeble and unsuccessful as compared with that of his father. He was succeeded by his son, a child of three years of age, Otho III., during whose reign the Romans attempted to regain their independence; but Otho visiting Italy, rivetted the German yoke as firmly as before; appointed a pope of his own nomination; and even took steps for making Rome the capital of the German Empire. The execution of this bold scheme was arrested by his sudden death in 1002, when his relative, Henry II., surnamed 'the Saint,' was chosen by the votes of the states to succeed him. Henry's reign (1002–1024) was passed, like those of his predecessors, in efforts to extend the German dominion in Southern Italy, and to push the frontier of the empire eastward at the expense of the Slavonians and the Hungarians. With him the Saxon line of German emperors became extinct, and the states chose for his successor Conrad II. (1024–1039), of the ducal house of Franconia.

127. At the time of the accession of the Franconian dynasty, the German Empire, as it had been extended by the emperors of the Saxon line, consisted of (1.) Germany Proper, divided into the national dukedoms of Franconia, Saxony, Lorraine, Bavaria, and Swabia; (2.) The tributary Slavonian dukedoms of Bohemia and Moravia; and (3.) The annexed feudal kingdoms of Burgundy and Italy. To maintain so extensive an empire was not an easy task, but the first Franconian emperors were men of no less ability than their Saxon predecessors. Conrad II. was succeeded by his son Henry III., who reigned from 1039 to 1056. Both these emperors devoted themselves to internal reforms in the empire, and to the maintenance of the power which the Saxon emperors had established in Italy. Henry was particularly distinguished by his zealous labours

for the reform of the church. He enacted severe laws against simony, or the sale of benefices, and other ecclesiastical abuses. Availing himself of the influence which the German emperors had acquired over the papacy, he set aside no fewer than three popes, in order to place in the papal chair a man likely to further his designs with respect to church reform. These acts of Henry, and the important results to which they led in the reign of his son and successor Henry IV., will be related more particularly hereafter.

128. V. ITALY.—The general condition of this country, from the period of the dismemberment of the Frankish Empire (888) to the middle of the eleventh century, has been already described in connection with France and Germany. At first, as we have seen, there was still nominally a *kingdom of Italy*, although this kingdom comprised only Upper and Central Italy, and virtually excluded the following states:—*Venice*, or the *Venetian Islands*, the inhabitants of which, released from their allegiance to the Greek Empire, and yet not subdued by the Franks, became in reality an independent commercial community, living under a government of their own, with an officer called the Doge, as chief or president; *the Papal States*, which, though related to the kingdom of Italy, were in reality an independent political sovereignty, with the popes for kings; the *Dukedom of Benevento*, held by a powerful family of Lombardic descent, and comprehending a large part of the modern kingdom of Naples; *the Greek dependencies*, now reduced by the conquests of the Franks and the attacks of the Arabians to the province of Calabria, with a narrow strip of the western coast, including the cities of Naples, Gaeta, Terracina, and Amalfi; and *the islands* of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, once in the possession of the Greeks, but now a prey to the Arabians. Italy was in this distracted and disunited state when the German emperor, Otho the Great (961), interposed with his armies; and setting aside the rival claimants of the kingdom of Italy, assumed, as emperor of the West, the supremacy of the whole peninsula. From that period the German emperors were the feudal lords of Italy; the popes were their

creatures and servants. Almost at every accession of a new emperor, indeed, the Italians revolted, sometimes with the countenance of the popes and their Roman subjects; but German armies were always successful in re-imposing the yoke whenever it was thrown off.

129. Only in Lower Italy and the islands, where the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Lombardic dukes divided the power, was the German supremacy disowned. The Lombards, indeed, had less reluctance to acknowledge masters of the same Germanic race with themselves; but the Greeks and Arabs made a resolute resistance. At length, however, a new power appeared in Southern Italy, which, under the auspices of the German emperors, laid the foundation of a new and growing state. The adventurous spirit of the Normans had not died out with the acquisition of Normandy and other lands of Northern Europe. Besides the conquest of England, the extraordinary branch of this people which had settled in France achieved, in the course of the eleventh century, one other conquest of European importance. As early as the year 1016, or about fifty years before William the Conqueror invaded England, a band of French Normans, not exceeding a hundred in number, had gone as soldiers of fortune to Italy, where they were received into the service of the Lombard princes as vassals of the German kings. Here their military prowess recommended them so much, that all the parties then struggling for the possession of the southern part of the peninsula were eager to obtain their help, and that of the new bands of Normans who came from Normandy to join them. The Greek or Byzantine emperor, in order the more firmly to attach the Norman knights to his interest, gave them a considerable territory near Capua, where they built the city of Aversa. Afterwards (1038), the German emperor, Conrad II., erected this territory into a county, granting the possession of it as a fief of the German Empire to a Norman chief named Rainulph. About the same time, another band of Norman adventurers, under the sons of Tancred, a descendant of Rollo, landed in Lower Italy; and having achieved the conquest of Apulia, received the lordship of it from the

emperor, Henry III. (1041). Robert Guiscard, one of the sons of Tancred, subsequently (1059) conquered Calabria from the Greeks, and assumed the title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria. To sanction his possession of these lands, he made a treaty with Pope Nicholas II.: the pope, on the one hand, recognising his title; and Robert, on the other, becoming a vassal of the Holy See. The island of Sicily was subsequently conquered for Robert by his brother Roger, the Arabs being expelled from it; some remaining Greek principalities in Southern Italy were also seized; and under the name of the Duchies of Apulia and Calabria was formed that Norman power in Italy, which became known afterwards as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

130. VI. The Greek or Byzantine Empire.—The gradual decline of this great empire from the time (553) when it included far more than the half of all those countries that had owned the sway of the Romans, to the time (711) when, by the successive assaults of the Franks, the Slavonians, the Persians, and the Arabs, it was reduced to the comparatively narrow circle of lands adjoining the Ægean and the Adriatic—namely, Greece Proper, Macedonia, Thrace, parts of Illyricum and Dacia, part of Southern Italy, and part of Asia Minor, has been already narrated in a previous chapter (see § 73). We have also just seen how, by the continued activity of the Franks, and by the subsequent wars of the German emperors and the Norman knights in Italy, the last relics of the power of the Byzantine emperors in that peninsula were destroyed. Thus, in the eleventh century, the Byzantine emperors, the successors of those purple-clad monarchs who had once governed half the world from their luxurious palaces in Constantinople, were rulers only of the Greek-speaking populations on both shores of the Ægean Sea; and even within this area, their power was menaced by the Slavonians of Europe on the north, and the Mohammedans of Asia on the east.

131. Still, both as regards population and wealth, the Byzantine Empire was perhaps the greatest state in Europe. Notwithstanding the differences in manners and in modes of political administration which prevailed between the East

and the West—society in the West being constructed on feudal principles, while that of the East still followed all the traditions of the Roman Empire—the Western nations could not despise, though they might dislike, the cultured and cunning Greeks. The Frankish and German kings regarded the emperor of Constantinople as a great political personage, inheriting a power resembling their own, but far more ancient and far more absolute; and the feudal dukes and counts of the West knew that the provinces of the East were administered by officers holding rank equivalent to their own, though on a less free and independent tenure. Nor did the growing ecclesiastical differences between the West and the East prevent the clergy of the West, with the pope at their head, from still regarding with the utmost respect the Eastern bishops, with their primate, the patriarch of Constantinople. Even after the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, when the popes and the patriarchs mutually excommunicated each other, this feeling of respect remained.

132. It is hardly necessary to mention the names of the series of emperors who reigned over the waning Byzantine dominion during the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. Most of them were men of little ability, who spent their lives in luxurious indulgence, political intrigues, or frivolous literary pursuits. The dynasty which held the throne from 867 to 1056, is known as that of the Macedonian emperors, from its founder Basilius I., a Macedonian general and statesman, who had gained possession of the empire in the first-mentioned year by the assassination of the emperor then reigning, Michael III. The most distinguished of the Macedonian emperors who succeeded Basilius I., were Leo VI. and Constantine Porphyrogenētus, both of whom devoted themselves to science and literature; Nicephorus, Phocas, and John Zemisces, who conducted wars with some energy against the Arabians; and Basilius II., who conquered the Bulgarians. When the male line of this dynasty became extinct, a period of anarchy ensued, during which various emperors were made and dethroned. In 1057, however, the dignity was transferred into a new line in the person of Isaac I., Comnenus, the descendant

of an Italian family which had settled in Asia Minor. Isaac, who was elected by the army, abdicated after two years; and for about twenty years the succession continued to be a matter of dispute between the Comneni and other claimants. At length (1081) Alexius I., Comnenus, a nephew of Isaac, ascended the throne.

133. VII. HUNGARY.—This new European state, which had been founded in 887 by Arpad and his Magyar followers at the expense of the Slavonians on the banks of the Danube, continued to grow in power and reputation. The descendants of Arpad enjoyed the nominal sovereignty, but in reality there were several Magyar chiefs who bore independent rule, and made war at their own pleasure. During the latter part of the ninth and the whole of the tenth century, the Hungarians were a terror to the part of Europe where they had planted themselves. Differing in race and in language from the surrounding populations, and still pagans in religion, they were animated by a powerful spirit of hostility to the Germans in particular. Bands of Hungarian marauders penetrated into Germany and Italy, and committed terrible devastations. It required all the energy of the ablest German emperors, such as Henry I. and Otho I., to prevent them from completely conquering considerable parts of Germany. The means which Otho employed against them were twofold—he encountered them with his armies, and he tried to convert them by missionaries. His efforts for their conversion were successful: the fierce Asiatics yielded, as the Germanic hordes had done before, to the softening and civilising influence of Christianity; nine or ten bishoprics, including the archbishopric of Gran, were erected within the Hungarian territories; and in the year 1000, the Hungarian Duke or Grand Prince Stephen, called Stephen the Saint, on account of his zeal for the new religion, was admitted into the number of the Christian kings of Europe by being crowned by Pope Sylvester II., who styled him the *Apostolic King*, in 997. This, accordingly, is the date of the formal establishment of the kingdom of Hungary; and the crown which was sent by the pope to Stephen on the occasion, and which was named 'the angelical crown,'

has always been regarded with extreme veneration by the Hungarian people. Stephen was an able ruler; and the organisation introduced by him into the kingdom continued to be the basis of the Hungarian constitution throughout subsequent times. For the purposes of administration, the kingdom was divided into counties, each governed by an officer appointed by the king; the king had the right of declaring war or concluding peace; but the laws and general business of the kingdom were decided in assemblies consisting of the royal officers, the great Hungarian chiefs, and representatives of the clergy and the free Magyars. These free Magyars all ranked as nobles, and had privileges as such over the Slavonian subjects, whose condition was rather that of serfs. Stephen also extended his dominions by the conquest of Transylvania (1002), which he formed into a distinct government under chiefs called Vaivodes, who held immediately from the crown.

134. During the reign of Stephen, Hungary was perfectly independent of Germany; but his son and successor, Peter, having been driven from his throne on account of his cruelties and exactions, and restored by the aid of the German emperor Henry III., consented to take the oath of fealty and vassalage to the empire. Peter, however, was again dethroned by a faction of the Magyars who still adhered to paganism; he was deprived of his sight, and thrown into prison, where he died. For thirty years after this event, the country was torn by civil war and dissension; but tranquillity was at length restored by the accession of Ladislav or Ladislaus the Saint, of the family of the Arpads. Some idea of the extent to which the Hungarians at this period retained traces of their Asiatic origin, may be gained from these facts, recorded by a contemporary traveller—that they still lived in tents in summer and autumn; that there were in the whole kingdom but few houses of stone or wood; and that whenever the Magyar chiefs paid visits to the king or to each other, they used to carry their seats or chairs with them.

135. VIII. The Slavonian States and Nations.—Omitting such portions of the vast Slavonian population of Eastern Europe as—like the Croats, the Bulgarians, and

the Lithuanians—had not yet risen above the condition of tribes, three masses of Slavonians may be distinguished as of European importance in the tenth and eleventh centuries. (1.) *The Slavonians attached to the German Empire.*—Besides the Slavonians fairly incorporated with the empire, and subject directly to the German crown, there were two Slavonian states or nations governed by native dukes or princes under tribute to the emperors. These were the *Bohemians* and the *Moravians*, occupying respectively the countries now known as Bohemia and Moravia, and both belonging to the Czechish family of the Slavonians. They had at first been very formidable neighbours to the Germans, but had at length been obliged to acknowledge their feudal supremacy. In consequence, too, of their proximity to Germany, they had been the first of the Slavonians to embrace Christianity, and set up bishoprics and convents within their territories. In the tenth century, the princes of Bohemia assumed the title of kings; and one of these kings, Boleslav II., surnamed the Pious, did much to civilise his subjects, who at that time were in such a barbarous condition, that the public sale of men was one of their national customs. (2.) *The Poles.*—The seat of this Slavonian nation was the middle part of the course of the Vistula. Here, according to the native tradition, a state was founded about the year 842, when a peasant named Piast was raised to the dignity of duke, which he bequeathed to his descendants. The Poles, who at that time retained the form of paganism common to all the Slavonian nations, were for many years involved in wars with their German neighbours; but during the vigorous reign of the Emperor Otho I., they were obliged, like the Bohemians and the Hungarians, to yield to the influence of the German armies and the German missionaries who accompanied them. In the year 965, Miecislav, Duke of the Poles, who had married a sister of the Bohemian Prince Boleslav, was persuaded by her to embrace Christianity, and introduce it among his subjects. This prince founded the bishopric of Posen, and acknowledged himself a feudal vassal of the German emperor. His son Boleslav (992–1025) took measures for exterminating heathenism

in his dominions, and founded bishoprics at Breslau, Colberg, and Cracow. Taking advantage of the troubles in Germany on the death of Otho III., he seized portions of the eastern marches of the empire, in the possession of which he was afterwards confirmed by Henry II. He likewise subdued various Slavonian tribes lying between his hereditary dominions and the Baltic, and thus extended Poland to the dimensions of a considerable state in Eastern Europe. In order that he might be on a footing of equality with other sovereigns, he assumed the title of King of Poland, causing himself to be crowned by his own bishops. Miecislav II., his son and successor, was a weak prince; and during his reign, Poland was governed in the interest of the Germans by his queen, Rixa, a niece of the Emperor Otho III. On the death of Miecislav (1034), the country fell into anarchy; Richsa, and her son Casimir, were driven into Germany; whence, however, Casimir was afterwards recalled to assume the crown. He died in 1058, and was succeeded by his son Boleslav II., styled the Dauntless, who reigned till 1081 with great vigour, and exerted a large degree of influence over the surrounding states. His subjects, the Poles, however, were still all but barbarians, the mass of the people being in a state of abject servitude to the native nobles. (3.) *The Russians.* —Little is known of the history of the Russian state founded by the Scandinavian Ruric (862) till the time of Vladimir the Great (980), the fourth grand-duke in direct descent from Ruric. This prince, on the occasion of his marriage with Anne Romanovna, the sister of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II., was induced to embrace the Christian religion (988), and establish it in his dominions. Missionaries poured into Russia from Constantinople and other parts of the Greek Empire; schools and convents were set up; along with the Greek ritual, the Greek alphabet was introduced; and Russia became for the time a Slavonian appendage of the Byzantine Empire, connected with it by political and religious ties as well as by an extensive commerce. Vladimir was also a conqueror; and at his death in 1015, the grand-dukedom of Russia or Muscovy extended over the vast region lying between the

Icy Sea on the north, and the Black Sea and the Carpathian Mountains on the south. The capital of this large dominion was Kiev, on the Dnieper—the government having been transferred thither from the more northern city of Novgorod, where Ruric had originally fixed it. Kiev was so splendid a city, and contained so many churches, that it was named 'the second Constantinople.' Altogether, at this early period, Russia was so much the most powerful, and so much the most civilised of the Slavonian states, that, had it continued united, it would have sooner taken that place in the general system of European nations which it attained in later times. The division of the grand dukedom, however, into numerous small principalities under the descendants of Vladimir, and the consequent exposure of the Russian populations, in a disunited state, to the attacks and ravages of the Asiatic hordes, who were continually driven westward by an uncontrollable impulse from the Scythian region beyond the Ural Mountains, delayed for a long time the culmination of the Russian power.

136. One important fact is to be remarked in the history of the Slavonian nations, as stated in the preceding paragraph. The Russians, and other Slavonians of the East, it will be observed, derived their Christianity from the Eastern or Greek Church, the chief seat of which was Constantinople; while the Poles and the Czechs of Bohemia, Moravia, and other Slavonian countries of the West, derived their Christianity from the Western or Latin Church, the chief seat of which was Rome. This distinction came to be of prodigious importance in the subsequent history, not only of the Slavonian nations themselves, but of all Europe. The Poles, the Bohemians, the Moravians, and other Slavonian populations who had embraced the Roman Catholic form of Christianity, with the Latin ritual and the use of the Latin language for ecclesiastical and literary purposes, were by that fact drawn intellectually westward, as it were, and attached to the confederacy of western nations; while the Russians, the Bulgarians, and other Slavonian populations, who had embraced the Greek ritual and the literary use of the Greek language,

were by similar effects drawn to the East, and kept apart from the general civilisation of the West.

137. IX. THE SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOMS OF THE NORTH. (1.) *Denmark.*—The dynasty of Danish kings founded by Gorm, king of Zealand, was called Skioldungs, from their supposed descent from Skiold (60 B.C.), a son of the mythical Scandinavian hero Odin. They and their subjects continued pagans till the year 965, when Harold Blaatand, or Blue-teeth, after having been vanquished by the German Emperor Otho I., permitted himself to be baptised, along with his son Sweyn. When Sweyn succeeded his father in the kingdom, however, he renounced Christianity and his allegiance to the Germans. During his reign, the Danes became the great conquering power of the North, and extended their sway over both Norway and England. On the death of Sweyn in 1014, his son, Canute the Great, inherited his English conquest, and became king of England, his elder brother, Harold, ascending the Danish throne. By Harold's death in 1016, however, Canute became king of both countries. Embracing Christianity, he introduced monks and missionaries into Denmark, set up bishoprics, and divided the country into dioceses. He reconquered Norway, which had asserted its independence; acquired Schleswig from the Germans by a treaty; and carried his arms into Sweden and Scotland. On his death in 1035, the Danish dominions were divided between his sons Hardicanute, Sweyn, and Harold—the first taking Denmark, the second Norway, and the third England. Harold dying soon after, Hardicanute reunited England to Denmark, while Norway revolted from Sweyn. At length, in 1042, the English, on the death of Hardicanute, threw off the Danish yoke; and Denmark itself was at the same time attacked by the Norwegian king, Magnus, who avenged the wrongs inflicted on his own country by retaining possession of the Danish throne for two years. At length (1044) a Danish patriot, named Sweyn Estrithson —after his mother, Estrith, who was a sister of Canute the Great—restored his country to independence, and founded a new dynasty, called the dynasty of the Estrithsons. (2.) *Norway.*—The first Christian king of Norway was

Olaf I., surnamed Tryggueson, a descendant of Harold Haarfager, the founder of the kingdom. He reigned towards the end of the tenth century, and introduced Christianity (1000) not only into Norway itself, but also into the Norwegian colonies of Iceland and Greenland. Scarcely had this been done, when the Danish conquest of Norway took place. The power of the Danes was bravely resisted by Olaf II., or the Saint, who imitated his predecessor in his zeal for the conversion of his subjects. Olaf was slain in battle with Canute the Great; but under his son, Magnus, Norway once more became independent. Iceland, though a colony of Norway, was free under a kind of republican government established by the emigrant families; and the Orkneys and Shetlands were governed by Norwegian chiefs, whose proximity to Scotland brought them into close relations with the kings of that country. (3.) *Sweden.*—This country, the various tribes of which had been united under one government by Eric, shared in the agitations which affected Denmark and Norway during the ninth and tenth centuries. Christianity was known to the Swedes as early as 800; but little progress was made in their conversion as a nation till the year 1000, about which time Olaf Skotkonung, the reigning king, was baptised, with his whole family, by Siegfroi, archbishop of York, who was sent to Sweden for the purpose by the English monarch, Ethelred. For a long time, however, Christianity and paganism continued to be very oddly blended in the creed and customs of the Swedes.

138. The impression which will naturally arise after this survey of so many nations and governments all co-existing in Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and all pursuing their own separate methods of development, will be that no connected story can be given embracing the progress of Europe as a whole. But, on a closer inspection, it will be found that there were causes in operation which not only produced social resemblances between the different states, perceptible amid all their differences of race, language, and the like, but also taught them to regard themselves as mutually related. Besides

the influence of wars, conquests, and royal intermarriages, affecting one group of nations here and another there, and producing every ten or twenty years new political combinations on a larger or a smaller scale, three important agencies may be recognised which operated in a similar manner, and tended to the same result. These were the Feudal System, the Church, and Commerce.

139. From time to time allusion has already been made to the growth of that peculiar set of institutions, or arrangement of society, which, under the name of the *Feudal System*, prevailed throughout all Europe during the middle ages. Existing in a rudimentary condition among the Franks as early as the period of Clovis (§ 41), and also among the Lombards of Italy, it gradually acquired a more exact and legal form; and by the eleventh century, it had spread into all the countries to which the Germanic conquests had extended, and even into others. This adoption of a similar set of social arrangements in so many different countries, arose in part, doubtless, from a mere spirit of imitation, but in a greater degree from the natural operation of similar causes. It ought never to be forgotten, that the modern nationalities of Europe were formed by conquest—that is, by the violent irruption of new races, chiefly Germanic, into countries previously more or less civilised according to the old Roman laws and forms. Now, the first result of any such conquest was a redivision of the landed property of the country conquered. Every free German who had assisted his chief in conquering the country received, as his share of the spoil, a particular estate, which was called his *allodium*, or *freehold*—this estate being absolutely his own property, which he could subdivide or give away as he liked, and which, if not alienated, descended by right to his heirs. The holders of such allods were subject to the king only in this respect, that they were amenable to the general laws established for the government of the state. But as it so happened that the king, who in the general division of the land received, of course, a very large domain as *his* share, did not usually keep all this land to be farmed by himself as one great estate, but gave portions of it away to his

favourites, on certain conditions mutually agreed upon; and as, in a similar manner, the holders of extensive allods gave away portions of these allods for a like consideration, the result was, that there arose in all the Germanic countries a second kind of property called *beneficium*, *fief*, or *leasehold*. This kind of property was not hereditary by right, but was held only during the pleasure of the real owner, and so long as the conditions on which it was granted were duly fulfilled. Holders of this kind of property were called vassals, or liegemen, to distinguish them from freeholders; and the real owner of the property which the vassals occupied as tenants was called the liege, the seigneur, or the suzerain. The usual tenure by which vassals held their fiefs was that of military service and homage—in other words, the proprietors who held fiefs from the king were bound to attend his court on occasions of ceremony, and to assist him in case of war with a stipulated number of men, armed and furnished in a stipulated manner; and the smaller proprietors, who held fiefs under great lords, were bound after the same fashion to appear at the castles of their lords when summoned, and to give them military assistance. The seigneurs, on the other hand, were bound to protect their vassals.

140. It very soon happened that the feudal tenure of property prevailed over every other. The great nobles were but too glad to become vassals of the kings, in return for the rich gifts which they had to bestow on them. These gifts were either simple *estates* out of the domains of the crown, or *places* of trust and government, conferring titles, such as duke, count, and the like. In either case, the recipient of the royal favour was said to hold a fief of the crown, and to owe vassalage in consequence. The great fief-holders in their turn, let out their lands and their subordinate offices on a similar tenure; and it very frequently happened that the holder of a small allod, or freehold, voluntarily gave it up to a powerful lord in his neighbourhood, whose protection he wished to secure, receiving it back from him as a fief. Gradually, therefore, almost the whole property of a country became a connected system of fiefs: the lands were fiefs; the offices and

dignities, from the governorship of a province down to the pettiest function, were fiefs; and society, from the king down to the poorest freeman, consisted of a chain of ranks, each retaining from that above it. Kings themselves were sometimes vassals of other kings, for estates lying out of the boundaries of their own sovereignty. Thus, William the Conqueror, although independent as king of England, was, in his capacity as Duke of Normandy, a vassal of the French monarch; the Scottish kings at a later period owed homage to the English kings, for certain lands held in England; and on the continent of Europe, many kings were at once sovereigns of one territory, and vassals in respect of property situated out of that territory.

141. To understand the practical operation of the feudal system, it is best to fancy what took place in a country either threatened with war, or about to undertake a war. On such an occasion, the king summoned his vassals or retainers to appear in the field at a certain time, with a certain military retinue; these vassals or retainers, generally the chief nobles of the kingdom, made a similar claim upon their followers—the smaller proprietors; and they, in their turn, summoned the farmers and yeomen, who stood to them in the relation of feudal obedience. The army thus consisted of bands of freemen, each armed at his own cost, or at the cost of his feudal superior, and each following the banner of his chief; while all the menial offices about the army were performed by the serfs, who had been taken into the field to attend the persons of their individual masters, and were a class distinct from the soldiers or freemen.

142. In addition to the influence of this universally prevalent system of feudalism, there was the influence of *the Church*, contributing in a different manner to the same result. We have already seen how common it was at this period for churchmen and scholars, born in one country, to leave that country in early or mature life, and either to settle in another country as bishops, monks, or teachers, or to devote themselves to a missionary life, and wander, as ministers of the Gospel, into the remote and still heathen corners of Europe. We have only to conceive this fact distinctly, and to fancy German, and

French, and Italian, and English ecclesiastics, distributed over Europe, all engaged in the same intellectual or spiritual labours, all using the Latin tongue for learned purposes, all considering themselves members of the great institute of the church, and all communicating by means of letters and books with distinguished men of their own order in the chief cities of Europe; and we shall have a vivid idea of that powerful system of religious communion which pervaded a society, otherwise torn and disunited, and spread like a net-work from the Mediterranean to the Icy Sea.

143. An agency, similar in effect to that of the church, and the power of which it is as easy for the imagination to estimate, was the more pacific one of *Commerce*. Even in the most distracted state of Europe, the necessities of men obliged them to cross the frontiers, or to quit the coasts of their own territories, and to travel over distant lands, or sail over distant seas, in quest of articles contributing to the comfort or the luxury of life. The people of Spain or of Italy required articles which could only be obtained in Russia, or on the western and southern coasts of the Baltic; and on the other hand, the ruder nations of those parts contracted tastes which could only be gratified by the importation of commodities native to lands warmed by the sun of the south. The commerce to which this mutual demand gave rise, might often be interrupted, and might even, in times of general war and migration, very sensibly decline; but it could not be extinguished. Every nation, however poor and unenterprising, was obliged to do a little commerce on its own account; while, owing to circumstances of geographical position and the like, certain nations became, as it were, merchants on a larger scale, not only importing commodities for their own consumption, but acting as carriers of commodities between different parts of Europe. In the north, the Danes and other Northmen sailed the seas partly as pirates, partly as traders; the Mediterranean was traversed by ships both of the Saracens and of Christian communities, such as that of Marseille, carrying goods to and fro between the East and the West; the German city of

Ratisbon became a great central emporium where commercial routes met; and Indian and Levantine wares found their way up the Danube from Constantinople and Asia. Among the communities which chiefly distinguished themselves in this early commerce, were the maritime cities of Italy, and particularly the city and state of Venice. This state, founded among the lagoons or marshes of the Adriatic by refugees driven from various Italian cities at the period of the Gothic invasions, had grown and prospered in a wonderful manner by commercial enterprise. Governed since the year 697 by an aristocratic council of merchants, at the head of which was the doge, or duke-mayor, the Venetians had, by prudent conduct, retained their independence during the wars of the next three centuries, sometimes pretending allegiance to the Greek, and sometimes to the Western emperors, and, on the whole, respected by all parties. Venice became a great and beautiful city, intersected by canals and bridges, and full of fine buildings, the most important of which in the eyes of the population was the Church of St Mark, erected over a body supposed to be that of St Mark the Evangelist, which had been brought from Alexandria by a Venetian ship in the year 827. St Mark was from that time the patron saint of the Venetians; and it was under his assumed protection that their merchant vessels sailed to all parts of the Mediterranean, the commerce of which they shared with the Saracens and the Greeks. Although often the scene of violent political disturbances, chiefly caused by quarrels between the doges and the leading citizens, Venice became by its commerce a powerful state; and this power was increased by the conquest of Dalmatia in 1000, and the addition of some inland territory to the original lagoons amid which the state had been founded. About this time, however, the maritime supremacy of Venice began to be disputed by two other small Italian states, which had been able to found themselves amid the political distractions of the peninsula in the ninth and tenth centuries. These were the states or republics of Genoa and Pisa—the former, dating its independent existence as a self-governing municipality from the year 888; the latter,

from a subsequent period. Both republics devoted themselves to commerce—a circumstance which brought them into collision with the Saracens, by whom Genoa was pillaged in 936, and Pisa in 1005.

144. It has already been seen that, of all the numerous subdivisions of Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the one which was entitled, for every reason, to a position of political preponderance, was Germany. Territorially, the German Empire was the largest state in Europe, comprehending not only the whole of Germany Proper included between the Rhine, the Eyder, the Oder, the Leitha, and the Alps, but also the eastern districts of the present kingdom of France; portions of the Slavonian region, attached as dependencies; and very nearly the whole of Italy. The successive steps by which this large power was acquired by the emperors, first of the Saxon, and then of the Franconian line, have been already narrated. It was not without propriety, therefore, that the sovereigns of Germany, in addition to their titles as Kings of Germany and Kings of Rome, maintained the more general title of 'Emperors of the West,' which had been first assumed by Otho the Great in 962. Their right to this title was recognised by all the sovereigns of Europe; there was not a king of Northern Europe who did not regard the German emperor as the political head of the civilised nations, and Germany as the ruling power; and the notion began to gain ground, and was sedulously inculcated both by the emperors themselves and the popes, that all Christendom consisted in reality of one great confederation of states, of which the emperors were the secular and the popes the spiritual chiefs. No one can understand the state of Europe at this time, without keeping distinctly before his mind the two words *pope* and *emperor*, with the meanings thus attached to them.

145. Internally, however, the constitution of the German Empire had many peculiarities which prevented the emperors from making all the use they might otherwise have made of their position as the political presidents of Europe. In the first place, the crown of Germany was elective: each

successive emperor was placed on the throne, not as a matter of hereditary right, but by a distinct vote of the 'states'—that is, of the great nobles and houses. These states or great houses also shared the power of the emperor after he had been elected; and it was only when they agreed with the emperor in any particular scheme, and furnished him with troops and supplies, that he could carry out his intentions. This want of unity in the political system of the empire, together with the want of any permanent military force at the command of the emperor, and the deficiency of the imperial revenues, interfered with the designs of even the ablest men who filled the elective throne. For a time, indeed, the emperors, in consequence of the later introduction of the feudal system into Germany as compared with other countries, had a means in their hands of bending the nobles and great houses to their will. The dukes, counts, and margraves, who governed the provinces or defended the marches of the empire, were long regarded as mere imperial officers, appointed, as in the ancient Roman Empire, by the emperor directly, and removable at his pleasure. The fiefs, too—that is, the properties or places originally granted by the monarchs on condition of a certain amount of military service to be rendered to the crown by their holders—continued long to be regarded as royal gifts; and though they were retained in the families to whom they had been originally granted, this was not looked upon as a matter of hereditary right. But in the eleventh century a great change took place. The dukes, counts, margraves, &c., not only contrived to make their offices hereditary, but extorted from the emperors many valuable privileges, which removed them more and more from the imperial control; and the great landed proprietors, following their example, began to style themselves lords of their property 'by the grace of God,' and to transmit their fiefs to their heirs as a matter of course.

146. Another cause which contributed greatly to weaken the political unity of the German Empire, was the increase of secular power in the hands of the clergy. Otho I., surnamed the Great (936–973), had been the first to promote this increase, by the systematic elevation of the

dignitaries of the German Church to the rank of temporal nobles. He bestowed on them large grants of lands from the imperial property; made them governors of towns, counties, and provinces; gave them the right of administering justice, coining money, &c.; only exacting in return the same fealty or payment of military service which was exacted from the secular lords. So long as Otho and his successors retained the patronage of the offices and dignities thus conferred on the clergy, this elevation of the ecclesiastical order helped to maintain the power of the crown; but very soon the German bishops imitated the example of the German civil lords, and contrived to convert the offices which had been originally crown-gifts into permanent episcopal jurisdictions.

147. But the great source of distraction to the German Empire, and the rock on which it split, was the peculiarity of its connections with Italy. In spite of all the invasions, conquests, and revolutions to which the Italian peninsula had been subjected during the centuries following the destruction of the Roman Empire, there still remained in it an inextinguishable spark of patriotic feeling. The old Italians made frequent attempts to rise against the Lombards; and though Charlemagne, by his victories over the Lombards and the Greeks, became really master of Italy, there were evidences under him and his successors of a strong repugnance on the part of the Italians to being considered as permanent subjects of the Frankish Empire. Accordingly, on the dissolution of this empire, as we have seen, Italy relapsed into a condition of anarchy, in which, while there still survived a tradition of the former unity of the Italian nation in a so-called 'kingdom of Italy,' the peninsula was in reality parcelled out among various powers and potentates—the pope, Lombard dukes, the Greeks, and small republican states like those of Venice and Genoa. The country was in this condition when the Emperor Otho marched into it with German armies at his back, and after much opposition crushed its various potentates, and annexed it as a whole to the German Empire (see § 125). The successors of Otho accordingly held, in addition to their other titles, the title of 'Kings of Rome,'

or 'Kings of Italy,' exercising over the peninsula, or at least over the greater part of it, the same authority which they exercised over Germany—granting fiefs to favourite nobles, conferring civil rank on bishops, and the like. As was natural, they were in the habit of conferring these honours on Germans rather than on native Italians; and hence there was kept alive in the breasts of the Italians a vehement feeling of hostility to German influence.

148. The focus of this national or anti-German feeling of the Italians was the city and territory of Rome; not only because this was the spot where the traditions of the ancient national greatness survived most enduringly, and where there was the greatest number of old Italian families, but also because the peculiar condition of the inhabitants, as immediate subjects of the papal power, enabled them more easily than the inhabitants of other parts of Italy, to maintain habits of independence. As the temporal magistrate or governor of the Romans, the pope was but a vassal of the German emperors; but his position as spiritual head of Christendom gave him, even in his temporal capacity, an advantage over all the other temporal lords owing allegiance to the emperors, and this advantage was felt by those whom he governed. Hence the national feeling of the Italians gathered round the popes; they were regarded as the representatives of native Italian right against foreign rule; and the dealings of the popes with the emperors, and of the emperors in return with the popes, assumed in the eyes of all parties a high degree of importance.

149. Had Otho III. carried out his design of transferring the capital of the German Empire to Rome, the two powers might have been gradually incorporated or reconciled; but as it was, the controversy between the popes and the emperors came down from age to age, and continued for several centuries to affect the whole history of Europe. The epoch when it first rose into definite importance, was that of the accession of the Franconian dynasty to the German Empire. The names of the first three emperors of this dynasty—Conrad II. (1024–1039), Henry III. (1039–1056), and Henry IV. (1056–1106)—

have already been mentioned (§ 127); we must now attend a little more closely to the history of the last two reigns.

150. Henry III. (1039–1056) was one of the ablest, as well as most powerful, of the German emperors. In this reign the empire attained its height of prosperity. Confirming, and even extending, its boundaries by his military prowess, he employed his powers as a statesman in beating down the factions by which it was internally disunited, in strengthening the authority of the crown at the expense of the duchies, and other large fiefs, and in enforcing many reforms both in church and state. Full of a sense of his own position as the greatest political personage of Europe—the 'sovereign of sovereigns,' as he was sometimes called—he not only behaved as the head and master of the Germans, both clergy and laity, but sought to control the ecclesiastical system of Europe, and to convert the church into a department of the imperial administration. He looked upon the popes as his own viziers in spiritual things, bound to obey him and assist him in his designs. Hence the management and direction of the papacy became in his eyes one of the most important of his imperial duties. He was constantly looking towards Rome, and constantly interfering with what went on there; and the circumstances of that city were such as to give him perpetual reason for anxiety and activity.

151. During the ninth and tenth centuries—that is, in the interval between the Frankish Empire of Charlemagne and the German Empire as founded by Otho the Great—Rome had been a scene of continued riot and confusion. Besides sharing in the general anarchy which then prevailed in Italy, the papal states were liable to a special cause of disorder in the peculiar nature of their government. The election of the popes as bishops of Rome, had been vested from the most ancient times in a kind of senate, composed of the principal clergy of Rome and its provinces. Rome being divided into twenty-eight parishes, each governed ecclesiastically by a priest, these twenty-eight priests, together with seven deacons belonging to the chief hospitals of the city, the seven palatine judges

of the Lateran, and some other ecclesiastics, formed the College of *Cardinals*—a name originally modest enough, but which had become in time a title of rank and splendour. In this College of Cardinals, the chief place belonged to the seven bishops of the seven dioceses into which the Roman territory as a whole was divided, and who were, accordingly, called the Cardinal-bishops. On the death of a pope, these cardinal-bishops recommended his successor to the College of Cardinals; the college accepted or rejected him by their votes; and the election was confirmed or annulled by the acclamations of the people in the streets. Considering the dignity of the office thus disposed of, it will be easily seen that such a mode of election, in a territory subject to no other authority than that of the office which was vacant, must have given rise to incessant disputes. On the one hand, a competitor, when rejected by the College of Cardinals, frequently appealed to the people; on the other hand, it often happened that a great noble, such as the Marquis of Tuscany or the Count of Tusculum, coerced both the cardinals and the people, and placed in the papal chair a puppet of his own. Hence, between the year 814, when Charlemagne died, and 962, when Otho became king of Italy, there reigned no fewer than thirty-seven popes, some of whom held the dignity but a few months, and some of whom are not now recognised as having been legitimate popes at all, but are styled Anti-popes, or Usurper Popes. Some of these popes were murdered or imprisoned by the nobles who then tyrannised over Rome; and the streets of the city were often stained with blood in the course of combats between the factions of rival popes. Occasionally a man of energetic and noble character—as, for example, Nicholas I. (see § 110)—was, by some fortunate accident, elected to the papal chair; but these were exceptions, and the majority of the popes, during the period under notice, were either profligates who disgraced their sacred office, or men of weak and silly minds managed by others. In the beginning of the tenth century, the papacy was actually in the patronage of two sisters, women of infamous character, named Marozia and

Theodora. Sergius III., who held the papacy from 904 to 911, was the lover of Marozia; and their illegitimate son ascended the papal chair in 931, under the title of John XI. Into such a state of intrigue, confusion, and corruption had the papacy and all connected with it fallen, that a legend afterwards arose, and gained credence almost everywhere, that at a certain period near the middle of the ninth century, the papacy was actually held for two years by a female, named Pope Joan. Strict research has proved that this is not true; but that it should have been believed so long, is a fact of great significance.

152. The extension of the German power into Italy by Otho I., had produced a change in this state of things. It became essential to the election of a pope, that the choice of the cardinals and the Roman people should be ratified by the German emperor; to secure this, an imperial commissioner resided at Rome, to examine the claims of candidates and to influence the election; and in cases of dispute, the emperor had the right of decision. The dissensions respecting the elections of the popes now assumed a new character: they were no longer dissensions among the Romans themselves, divided into factions under the influence of powerful Italian nobles; they were dissensions between the Romans and Italians on the one hand, bent on having popes of their own nation, and the German emperors on the other, bent on having popes friendly to their interest. This was the state of things when Henry III. ascended the German throne. An opportunity soon occurred for the exercise of his influence. In the year 1046, the papacy having become vacant, three ecclesiastics, each with a party of adherents, were contending for the papal chair. Henry, interposing his authority, set them all aside, and appointed a German bishop, who assumed the title of Clement II. The new pope came under additional obligations to his imperial patron, and lent himself willingly to the promotion of his designs. The same policy was pursued by his three successors—Damasus II., Leo IX., and Victor II.—all of whom were Germans, and nominees of Henry.

With their help, and by the instrumentality of councils of the clergy, summoned under the auspices of the emperor, various schemes of ecclesiastical reform were proposed and carried out.

153. Henry III. died in 1046, and was succeeded by his son Henry IV., then a child of six years of age. The minority of this emperor was a period of faction and confusion over the whole empire, the administration being contested by Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, and Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen, who alternately had possession of the person of the young emperor, and consequently of the means of government. It was not till about the year 1072 that Henry was able to take the rule of the empire into his own hands. Nor, when he did so, was the change of much advantage to his subjects. Abandoning himself to all kinds of excesses, he alienated their affections by the capricious exercise of his power, and made many enemies among the great German nobles and clergy. No part of the empire suffered so much from his misrule as Saxony. Aiming at the reduction of this dukedom to the condition of an immediate dependency of the crown, he built fortresses over the whole country, subjected the inhabitants to intolerable exactions, and treated the assembled Saxon nobles with studied insult. At length (1073) the Saxons rose in open rebellion; Henry was obliged to flee into other parts of his dominions; and though he ultimately (1075) reduced the insurgents to obedience, it was with an enormous sacrifice of human life.

154. The distracted state of the German Empire was, of course, favourable to the independence of the Roman pontiffs. No longer kept under control by the firm hand of Henry III., the cardinals and the Roman people began to entertain projects for withdrawing the papacy from the protection of the emperors; and although the two popes who filled the chair immediately after Henry's death—Stephen IX. (1057) and Benedict X. (1058)—were appointed on the principle which he had established, it was not long before the aspect of the anarchical state of the empire during the first years of the reign of Henry IV.

encouraged attempts to break through that principle. The man who had this object most at heart, and whose resolute perseverance in accomplishing it has handed down his name to posterity as the most illustrious name of his epoch, was a priest named Hildebrand. A Tuscan by birth, the son of a poor carpenter in the little town of Saona, he devoted himself to the priestly office, which was then the only mode by which the children of poor parents could rise to power and influence, and entered the order of the monks of Cluny—so called, because it was founded in the tenth century by an abbot of Cluny in France. From his earliest years, he was distinguished by his strict and zealous character, and by his high and severe views of what was required for the ecclesiastical office. Having formed the acquaintance of Leo IX., one of the nominees of Henry III., when that pope was on his way to Rome to assume the pontificate (1049), Hildebrand obtained a great influence over him, and was soon afterwards called to Rome, to assist in the papal counsels as chancellor and cardinal. It was in this office, which he held under five successive popes, that he meditated and matured his great schemes for the aggrandisement of the church, and her complete separation not only from the German power, but from all lay-authority whatever. The popes were the ostensible agents in the preparation and gradual execution of these schemes; the true actor, and the man who managed the popes, was the Chancellor Hildebrand. Even while Henry III. was alive, he encountered the resistance of this terrible monk, who omitted no opportunity of instilling into the minds of the popes ideas very different from those entertained by their imperial patron. But it was after Henry's death that the bold chancellor first shewed the kings of the world what they had to expect from him.

155. Hildebrand's first object was to secure to the clergy and people of Rome the independent election of their own popes. For this purpose, he prevailed on Nicholas II.—who succeeded to the papacy in 1059, and under whom he retained his old office of chancellor—to

hold a council, when it was resolved, that in future the popes should be chosen by the College of Cardinals, and accepted by the rest of the clergy and people of the Roman states: the question, whether the sanction of the emperor should be asked, being left for the decision of each successive pope. In order to secure support in carrying out this resolution, Hildebrand persuaded the pope to enter into a close alliance with a power then rising into consequence in Italy—that of the Normans of Apulia and Calabria. Robert Guiscard, who was then (see § 129) the most adventurous prince of his adventurous race, was glad to free himself from allegiance to the German Empire, by constituting himself a vassal of Pope Nicholas, from whom, accordingly, he accepted Apulia, Calabria, and the yet unconquered island of Sicily, as fiefs of the Holy See, with the accompanying title of duke. In return, he engaged to protect the cardinals and people of Rome in the exercise of their right of free election to the pontificate. This step having been gained, Hildebrand was ready to proceed still further. When Nicholas II. died (1061), he did not wait for any communications with the German court, but immediately procured the election of a new pope, an Italian by birth, who assumed the name of Alexander II. This pope was entirely guided by Hildebrand, who might indeed have taken the papal title himself, had he thought the time ripe, or had he not preferred the substance of power to the mere appearance of it. The German empress-dowager, indeed, acting for her son, Henry IV., nominated a rival pope; but the energy of Hildebrand crushed his pretensions. Alexander II. remained in the papacy for twelve years, carrying out such ecclesiastical reforms as were suggested by his chancellor and cardinal; and on his death (1073), Hildebrand himself ascended the papal chair, under the title of Gregory VII. He had already virtually wielded the papal power for about twenty years; but all that he had attempted during this period of experiment was as nothing compared with what he was prepared to do when the tiara was on his own head.

156. There is perhaps no instance in history of a man

first forming in his own mind a great and difficult scheme, and then accomplishing it by inflexible resolution, so remarkable as that which is afforded by the papacy of Gregory VII. The scheme which he had framed for many years, and, at all events, before his election to the papacy, was nothing short of this: the enfranchisement of the church from any temporal authority in the world; the elevation of the church into a great institution pervading the whole world, governing the thoughts and actions of men, exercising authority even over civil rulers when they transgressed certain limits, or offended against the fundamental maxims of justice, and administered within itself as a vast organisation of ranks, of which the pope was to be the supreme head, and the bishops and priests all over Christendom the subordinate members.

157. The first difficulty to which Gregory VII. applied himself after his elevation to the popedom, was the question of the *investiture* of bishops and abbots. One of the greatest obstacles to the independence of the church, was the right exercised not only by the German emperors, but by other temporal sovereigns, of *investing* these higher clergy in their dominions—that is, of bestowing the ring and staff, which were the symbols of their office. In virtue of this right, the temporal sovereigns had the clergy completely under their control; they nominated and removed bishops, and they gave away at their pleasure the rich fiefs or benefices, which either their own predecessors, or the piety of other individuals, had bequeathed to the church. Sometimes benefices were openly bought from the sovereigns who had them at their disposal; and in all cases the bishops and abbots had to act as vassals of the reigning king, ride booted and spurred in his retinue, and maintain for his service a company of men-at-arms. Gregory struck a blow at the root of this system. In the year 1074, he held a council at Rome, where he caused a decree to be passed, forbidding all kings or sovereigns, under pain of excommunication, from the further exercise of the right of investiture, and forbidding, under the same penalty, all clerks or ecclesiastics to accept investiture at the hands of laymen. Four papal legates were appointed

to superintend the execution of the decree throughout the German Church.

158. Henry IV., being at that time engaged in war with his Saxon subjects, was obliged at first to pretend acquiescence; but so serious a limitation of the imperial authority could not be submitted to without a struggle. In no state had the crown been more munificent to the church than in Germany; and to deprive the emperors of the patronage of the numerous ecclesiastical fiefs, granted in so many instances by their ancestors out of the imperial domain, was to strip the sovereign of half his power. Accordingly, as soon as the Saxon war was over, Henry IV. set the papal decree at defiance. The pope admonished him in severe terms, and summoned him to Rome to answer for his conduct. Henry laughed at the summons, and called on all the nations to look on, while he defended the rights of sovereigns, and chastised the proud pontiff who had dared to invade them.

159. Henry had, indeed, a large amount of what is now called 'public opinion' in his favour. Not only was he acting as the champion of kings in general, and therefore entitled to expect the cordial sympathy of all the European sovereigns; not only had he a powerful body of supporters among the higher German clergy, who saw their fiefs in danger if a reformer like Gregory should appoint a commission to inquire into the state of the German Church; he was backed, in addition, by a feeling of a different kind, and far more widely diffused throughout society. In the same council in which Gregory had struck his blow at the practice of lay investiture, he had struck a blow at a practice far more deeply incorporated with human institutions and sentiments—the marriage of the clergy. The celibacy of the clergy had always been a favourite doctrine of the Church of Rome. Recommended in early times by St Augustine and others of the Christian fathers, it had again and again been enforced by councils of the church; so that, about the tenth or eleventh century, it was accounted uncanonical for a priest in Italy, or in any other southern country, to be married. But though celibacy had long been preached and encouraged, it had

never become a positive and imperative rule among the clergy; in Germany, in England, and in the Scandinavian countries, it was as common for a priest to have a wife as not; and even in France, Italy, and Spain, there were hundreds of married ecclesiastics. Now, as the marriage of priests tended to connect them by family ties with the rest of the community, and to give them the same interests and objects in life, this practice was felt by Gregory VII. to be an obstacle in the way of his scheme for the separation of the clerical order from the laity. A married priesthood could never constitute a church such as he desired to see—ruling the world, and yet not of the world. Accordingly, even before his elevation to the papacy, he had strenuously inculcated the doctrine of clerical celibacy, and urged his predecessors to give effect to it. And as soon as he had the power absolutely in his own hands, he shewed that he was in earnest, by passing a decree calling on all the clergy throughout the Catholic world, either to quit their wives or to renounce the priestly order.

160. The agitation produced by this decree was immense. Human affections were shocked, and everywhere the clergy rose in rebellion. The German clergy corresponded with each other, and made leagues in defence of their households; the clergy of the more remote northern countries continued to marry, in spite of an authority so distant as that of an Italian ecclesiastic. But Gregory was ruthless. He persisted in his decree; threatened and punished those who were contumacious; and let loose against the married clergy the rage of their natural antagonists—the monks. These men, bound themselves by the vow of celibacy, ran over the world in a state of fury, denouncing married priests as servants of the devil, and stigmatising the whole female sex as sorceresses, unclean spirits, sirens, seductresses of the clergy, toys, proud birds, baits of Satan, scum of Paradise, she-wolves, poison of souls. Strange to say, the populace sided everywhere with the monks against the married clergy. Acts of awful outrage were perpetrated on clerical households by the excited mobs in towns and villages. Priests were beaten, pelted with mud, and in some cases killed or mutilated;

their wives and families were hooted at and pursued; and at length, at the expense of many a sigh and many a broken heart, the papal decree triumphed. Married clergymen either repudiated their wives, or lived with them in secret; and celibacy became the law of the church, although more than a century elapsed before submission to it became universal in all Christian countries.

161. When Henry IV. began his struggle with Gregory VII., he had on his side not only the opinion of other sovereigns of Europe, and the majority of the higher German clergy, but also great numbers of the inferior clergy, whom the papal decree against the marriage of priests had terrified and shocked. Had he proceeded with prudence, he might have made a good use of so unusual a position. Led on, however, by his fiery and impetuous temper, he no sooner received the papal summons to appear at Rome, than he convoked at Worms (1076) an assembly of his great nobles and prelates, and obliged them to pass a decree deposing Gregory from the papal office. But Gregory was more than a match for his imperial antagonist. When the news of the decree of Worms reached him, he thundered back a reply such as no one had anticipated. It was a sentence of excommunication and suspension against Henry, addressed in the form of an invocation to the apostle Peter. The document ran as follows:—'In the name of Almighty God, I suspend and interdict from governing the kingdom of Germany and Italy, Henry, son of the Emperor Henry, who, with a haughtiness unexampled, has dared to rebel against thy church. I absolve all Christians whatever from the oath which they have taken, or shall hereafter take to him; and henceforth none shall be permitted to do him homage or service as a king; for he who disobeys the authority of thy church, deserves to lose the dignity with which he is invested. And seeing this prince has refused to submit as a Christian, and has not returned to the Lord whom he has forsaken, holding communion with the excommunicated, and despising the advice which I tendered him for the safety of his soul, I load him with curses in thy name, to the end that men may know, even by experience, that

thou art Peter, and that on this rock the Son of the living God has built his church, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

162. This terrible sentence, pronounced by the son of a poor carpenter against the greatest potentate of the earth, fell like a thunderbolt in the midst of Germany. Hitherto kings and emperors had appointed popes; now the relation was reversed, and a pope claimed the right of deposing kings and emperors. Strong only in his conscious power as head of the church, a man without an army or the means of procuring one, had dared to measure strength with a prince who counted his soldiers by thousands. Yet it was not merely to the appalling effect of his sentence of excommunication that Gregory trusted. He knew that in Germany many great nobles, already disaffected to Henry, would be ready to take any opportunity of shewing their disaffection; and that in Saxony, in particular, the people, crushed and bleeding under Henry's recent tyranny, would be glad to rise against him. The very boldness of the pope was in his favour. Whoever hated Henry over Germany, as well as whoever shuddered from religious feeling at the thought of incurring the curses of him who was believed to wear the keys of St Peter, took the side of the pope. Accordingly, when Henry met his princes and nobles at Tribur in the end of 1076, he found that, so far from being willing to proceed further against the pope, they were actually eager to carry out the late sentence by electing a new emperor. It was only by expressly promising to submit to the pope, that he prevented them from carrying out their intentions. Humiliated and grieved, he crossed the Alps in the depth of winter (1077) to seek the pardon of his pontifical enemy. He found the pope in the Modenese territory, where he was residing with the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, one of the most devout friends of the church, at her Castle of Canossa. Here it was only after the most abject confessions of his error, and standing as a penitent for three days in an outer court of the castle, barefooted, and clad only in a woollen shirt, that he obtained absolution, and the removal of the sentence of interdict. Such a spectacle had never before been seen in Europe.

163. Victorious over Henry IV., Gregory was thenceforward more bold in advancing his scheme of universal ecclesiastical domination. He propagated, in the most unlimited shape, the doctrine of the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power, affirming that if the pope, as the representative of St Peter, had the right of appointing and removing archbishops and bishops, *much more* had he the right of removing unworthy men from empires, kingdoms, duchies, marquisates, and the like. Nor was this a mere speculative proposition. Gregory lost no opportunity of carrying it into effect. He urged on kings and princes the duty of acknowledging themselves vassals of the Holy See. After the humiliation of Henry, he wrote a letter to the German nation, in which he used these words: 'Let not the emperor imagine that the church is subject to him as a slave; she is set over him as a sovereign.' In a similar strain he wrote to the French bishops respecting théir king, Philip I.: 'Your king, who is not to be called a king but a tyrant, has polluted the whole world by his crimes and foul acts.' He demanded from the French, under the name of 'Peter's pence,' a tribute to the papal see of one penny for each house. He wrote to the Christian princes of Spain, demanding their homage, and a similar tribute. He made the same demand of Sweyn, king of Denmark. He affirmed both to Solomon, king of Hungary, and to his successor Geysa, that Hungary was by its constitution a papal fief. He refused to recognise Demetrius Swinimir as sovereign of Croatia, except on condition of homage, and a tribute of two hundred gold pieces. He deposed and excommunicated Boleslav II., king of Poland, for having killed Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow; and though Boleslav recovered his power, Poland was reduced for a time to a mere dukedom. The means which Gregory employed for giving effect to his views, were partly letters, partly sentences of excommunication, and partly embassies. He availed himself largely of the practice of sending legates into different parts of Europe; and these legates made him aware of all that passed at the various courts, and acted as his deputies in the presence of kings and assemblies. In

short, so successfully did he prosecute his designs, that many of the minor princes of Europe actually acknowledged themselves his vassals, while the most powerful monarchs were careful not to offend him by too ostentatious a show of independence. One of the boldest rebuffs he met with was from William of England, who, when Gregory demanded his homage, replied that he was not in a humour to render a homage which he had never promised, and which none of his predecessors had paid before him. Among the greatest friends and clients of the pope, however, were William's kinsmen, the Norman princes of Southern Italy. The brave and wily Robert Guiscard, in particular, never repented of the bargain which, at the instigation of the Chancellor Hildebrand, he had been induced to make with the papal power; and during the papacy of Hildebrand himself, he was his firm adherent, lending him all the assistance in his power against the emperor, and reaping much advantage from the alliance. Even more attached to the pope, although less able to assist him, was the Countess Matilda of Tuscany, already mentioned, a woman of pious and noble disposition, on whose personal friendship Gregory never ceased to rely. A Frenchwoman by birth, but related by political connections with the German Empire, certain persecutions which she had suffered, as well as her natural devoutness, had prompted her to cast aside all other allegiance, and to acknowledge only the banner of the church. She signalised this affection, by bequeathing, in the year 1077, all her freehold estates in Italy to the Holy See—an act by which the property of the popes, or, as it was called, 'the patrimony of St Peter,' was considerably increased.

164. It was not only over the princes and potentates of Catholic Europe that Gregory sought to exercise his authority. The same principles which taught him to regard himself as lord over these princes, induced him to engage in schemes for bringing under his control those regions of the earth which lay beyond the Catholic pale. He encouraged and set on foot enterprises—partly of a missionary, and partly of a military nature—for subjecting to Christian rule those portions of Europe, particularly of

Northern Europe, where heathenism still lingered; and he lost no opportunity of asserting his right of superiority over the Greek or Eastern Church, and his opinion that that church was heretical and schismatical, and that the world would never be in a proper condition until it acknowledged only the one Latin or Catholic Church, with the pope at its head. For this purpose, he rigorously defined the boundary which separated the Slavonian tribes attached to the Latin or Western Church, from the tribes of the same race which had been converted by Greek missionaries, and followed the Greek ritual; and in certain cases, where Slavonian tribes belonging to the Catholic Church had previously been allowed to use a service composed in their own tongue, he obliged them to adopt the ordinary Latin service. He also encouraged all attempts—and particularly those of his favourites, the Normans of Lower Italy—to wrest from the Greek emperors portions of their Asiatic dominions.

165. But the prosperity of even the greatest of men comes to its height at last; and the enterprise which Gregory had prescribed for himself—that of the subjugation of the whole earth under one paramount rule, founded on faith and feeling rather than on armed force —was too vast for the life or the powers of any single mortal. The elements of opposition to him were slumbering over Europe; and there was one man alive, around whom, so long as they existed, these elements were sure to gather. This was his old enemy, Henry IV. Often, we may be sure, did the three days of his penitential abasement in the court of the Castle of Canossa come back to the memory of the fiery German emperor; and as often must he have sworn to himself, that the proud pontiff who had thus humbled him, and made him the scoff of his brother kings, should be obliged to lick the dust. Accordingly, the whole subsequent life of Henry IV. was one series of schemes and wars for vengeance against the pope. At the time of his humiliation at Canossa, he was still in the prime of life, being only thirty-six years of age, while the pope was an old man. Returning, therefore, to Germany, with all the rage natural to a

young monarch who had been insulted and baffled by an aged priest, he soon shewed that his submission had been only apparent, and that he was still determined to be master in his own dominions. He found that, during his absence, a party of his nobles had actually carried out the intention of the Assembly of Tribur, and elected Duke Rudolph of Swabia to the German throne. As the pope, when removing the interdict, had expressly stipulated that Henry was not to exercise his functions of royalty unless formally authorised to do so by the German diet, and as Rudolph ceded to the pope the whole question of investiture, the influence of Gregory was entirely in favour of the new candidate. For some time Henry and Rudolph were at open war; at length, however, Henry defeated his rival, and seated himself once more on the throne. No sooner had he done so, than he declared Gregory to be deposed, and appointed a new pope, in the person of the archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III. (1080).

166. Fortune had thus turned at last against the proud pontiff. Still his courage was undaunted; and as the greater part of the Christian world adhered to him, he did not despair of crushing his adversary. But Henry, leaving the civil war in Germany to be finished by his adherents, marched into Italy to complete his victory. After a siege of three years, he took Rome; and entering it in triumph, received the imperial crown from the hands of the anti-pope Clement (1084). Gregory took refuge in the Castle of St Angelo, the strongest place in the city, whence he was rescued by his friend Robert Guiscard, Duke of the Two Sicilies. Dethroned, defeated, but still maintaining in his adversity the same inflexible spirit, he was driven from place to place, and at last found refuge at Salerno, in the territory of Guiscard, where he died in the year 1085. 'I have loved justice,' he said, 'and hated iniquity, and therefore I die an exile.' One of his last acts was to issue a new sentence of excommunication against Henry IV. Before his death, he had seen that the enterprise to which he had devoted his life was too great for his strength. 'If I look to the

east,' he said in one of his letters, 'and see the Greek Church separated by the craft of the devil from the true Catholic faith, then I grieve and despair; if I look to the west, to the south, and to the north, I find scarcely any who are lawful bishops, whether as regards the manner in which they have obtained the office, or their conduct towards the people under their charge; even the Romans, the Lombards, and the Normans among whom I live, will soon be (and I often tell them so) more execrable than Jews or pagans.' Such, as described in his own words, were the feelings of the greatest pope that ever lived, as he looked abroad on the contemporary earth, and compared its actual state with what he wished it to be.

167. In the subsequent career of Henry IV., the superstitious of that age saw, as they thought, the vengeance of Heaven upon a man who had raised his hand against the pope, and whom the pope had excommunicated. During his absence from Germany, Rudolph had been killed; but another rival had been elected by a party of the German nobles. No sooner had he been defeated, than an enemy arose in the bosom of his own family. Rejecting the claims of the anti-pope Clement, the adherents of Gregory VII. had raised to the papal throne (1086) an Italian named Victor III., and after his death (1088), a Frenchman named Urban II. Instigated by the partisans of Urban II., Conrad, the eldest son of Henry IV., rebelled against his father. He was defeated, and, in punishment for his unnatural conduct, was deprived of his claim to the succession, which was conferred, by a diet held at Cologne, on his younger brother, Henry. For some time this Henry behaved in a dutiful manner; but at length he was persuaded by Paschal II.—who had been elected to the papacy after the death of Urban II. (1099), and who inherited the antipathy to Henry IV.—to imitate his brother Conrad, and raise the standard of rebellion. A civil war ensued; the son proved victorious; the aged emperor was seized, stripped of his robes at the feet of his son, and turned adrift on the world. Friendless,

aged, and a beggar, he sought refuge at Spires, where he had built a church in honour of the Virgin. He prayed to be admitted into this church as a priest, urging his request by stating that he could read, and also sing in the choir. Even this prayer was refused, and the poor old monarch made his way to Liege, where he died in 1106. For five years his body lay in a cellar at Liege, no one daring to bury an excommunicated person; but in 1111, it was removed to Spires, and there buried.

168. The controversy between the popes and the emperors did not end with the lives of Gregory VII. and Henry IV. It continued for more than two centuries longer to agitate the Christian world. Henry V., though he had raised himself to power under the auspices of the papal party, was not more disposed than his father to lessen his imperial authority by acceding to all the papal demands in the question of investiture. Accordingly, he carried on for some years a struggle with Paschal II., similar to that which his father had carried on with Gregory VII. At last, terrified by the papal excommunications, and by the threatening attitude of his subjects, he consented to a compromise; and in the year 1122, a *concordat*, or treaty, between him and Pope Calixtus II. was agreed to at Worms, by the terms of which the right of investiture in the episcopal office by the *staff* and *ring* was to belong to the popes, while the emperors were to retain, under the title of the right of the *sceptre*, a certain power over the temporalities of the benefice.

169. This compromise was not of long continuance. Henry V. having died in 1125, the papal party of the German nobles were strong enough to secure the election of Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, who immediately resigned to the papal chair the modified rights in the matter of episcopal fiefs which had been preserved to the emperors by the concordat. His accession was vehemently opposed by the other party of the German nobles, at the head of whom was Conrad of Hohenstaufen, Duke of Franconia. Assisted, however, by the warlike abilities of Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, Lothaire was able to retain the throne. But on his death in 1138, the dissensions

recommenced—one party supporting the Bavarian, the other the Franconian duke. Conrad gained the election, and assumed the title of Conrad III.; but the war against him was continued by Guelph, the brother of Henry, and it was not till after a great battle fought in 1140, that the House of Hohenstaufen or Franconia was assured of the crown. It is from this battle that the names of *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines*, so famous in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, are said to have taken their rise. The war-cry of the army opposed to Conrad on this occasion was 'Welf' or 'Guelph,' the name of their leader, and the family name of the house of Bavaria; that of Conrad's army was 'Wibelung' or 'Ghibelung,' the name of a small town in Franconia, from which the Franconian dukes traced their origin. Hence, ever afterwards these names were used to distinguish the two great parties into which the inhabitants of Germany and of Italy were divided—a partisan of the popes against the emperors being called a Guelph, and a partisan of the emperors against the popes, a Ghibelline.

170. Conrad III. was succeeded in 1152 by his nephew, Frederick I. of Hohenstaufen, better known as Frederick 'Barbarossa,' or 'Redbeard.' This emperor was a man of extraordinary energy and ability, and his reign (1152–1190) was a continued series of bold enterprises and striking events. By his vigorous administration, he did much to put an end to the dissensions which had so long prevailed among the great German nobles, and to strengthen the imperial prerogative, which these dissensions had weakened. But the great object of his life was the re-establishment of the imperial supremacy in Italy. Gradually, under his predecessors, and especially during the conflict between the emperors and the popes, the Lombard cities of Northern Italy had, while still nominally retaining their fealty to the empire, assumed all the powers, and even the appearance of independent little republics, electing their own magistrates, and making wars and leagues with each other at their pleasure. At the head of these Lombard republics was Milan; of the others, the most important were Pavia, Cremona, Brescia, Tortona, Crema, Mantua, and Lodi.

Henry V., Lothaire, and Conrad III., had been too much occupied with German affairs to look after the development of these little independencies of Northern Italy; but Frederick Barbarossa resolved to crush them, and also to extend his influence throughout the southern parts of the peninsula. In 1154, accordingly, he marched into Italy with a large army, reduced some of the Lombard towns which were allied to the Milanese, and assumed at Pavia the famous iron crown which had been used by the Lombard kings. He was proceeding to attack Milan, and so finish the war, when he was summoned by Pope Adrian IV.—Nicolas Breakspeare, the only Englishman who ever held the papacy—to assist him in putting down an insurrection among the Romans. The author of this insurrection was the celebrated Arnold of Brescia—a name dear to Italian patriots to this hour; and whose history is, for many reasons, worthy of special notice.

171. Born at Brescia, and intended for the priestly office, Arnold had studied in France under the famous Abelard. From this master he had imbibed certain theological views of a peculiar nature, which his enemies pronounced heretical. But that which brought him into notice was a *political* doctrine, then also deemed heretical—the doctrine, namely, that according to the institution of Christ, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' it was unlawful for priests to be invested with temporal power, or to take rank and place among civil rulers. Abbots, bishops, and popes, he said, ought to resign their properties and benefices, and resume their original condition as spiritual teachers, frugally supported by the voluntary offerings of those whom they taught. This doctrine, so antagonistic to the maxims which Pope Gregory VII. had bequeathed to the world, Arnold preached with such wit and eloquence at Brescia, as, on the one hand, to become the idol of the people, and on the other, the object of hatred to the clergy. The unsettled state of Italy at the time enabled him to brave opposition; but at last his doctrines were condemned at a council held by Pope Innocent II. (1139), and Arnold

sought refuge in Switzerland. Driven thence after a year or two of quiet study, he dared to present himself in Rome; and here for ten years, in the face of pope and cardinals, he preached his reforms. His eloquence, joined to his strict and noble life, which was acknowledged even by his enemies, gave him immense influence both with the nobles and the people; and as, in the course of developing his views, he appealed in a warm and powerful manner to the national feeling of the Italians, and held forth the picture of something far higher than anything that either the Guelphs or the Ghibellines aimed at—namely, of an independent Roman republic, free from the temporal authority of either pope or emperor—he became a great political leader in Central Italy. A revolution took place in Rome; and for ten years the popes and cardinals either trembled for their lives, or wandered about as exiles. No sooner, however, had Nicolas Breakspeare—who had risen from the rank of a poor brother of the English monastery of St Alban's—ascended the papal throne as Adrian IV. (1154), than he prepared to resist the encroachments of the revolutionary spirit. A cardinal having been killed in the streets, Rome was placed under a sentence of excommunication: and from Christmas to Easter, worship was discontinued in the churches, and the city was wrapt in gloom. Terrified and humbled by this spiritual chastisement, the people submitted or wavered, and Arnold was banished. Not content, however, with this partial victory, Adrian called in the help of Frederick Barbarossa, who was then engaged in his Lombard campaign. Frederick, seeing so favourable an opportunity of re-establishing the German power in Central Italy, was glad to comply. He marched to Rome; quelled the last relics of insurrection; and caused Arnold to be dragged from his retreat in Campania, and given up to the prefect of the city, by whose orders he was burnt alive, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber (1155). The pope and the emperor rejoiced over the death of this martyr to liberty: the emperor held the pope's stirrup; and the pope, in return, placed the imperial crown on the head of the emperor.

172. In a second campaign in Italy (1158–1162), Frederick continued his operations against the Lombard cities with such success as almost to gain his end. He deprived them of the right of coining money, and of making war and peace on their own account; and he endeavoured to concentrate the government of each in the hands of a magistrate, styled the *Podesta*, accountable to himself alone. The most refractory of the cities was Milan; and in consequence of a revolt of this city against the system which he was trying to establish, he laid siege to it, and having reduced it after two years, during which the citizens suffered dreadfully from famine, caused it to be plundered and dismantled, and the inhabitants to be dispersed among the neighbouring cities. This siege and destruction of Milan was long remembered in Italy.

173. At the very time when Frederick thought himself sure of the complete subjugation of the Lombard towns, his plans were dashed by a new outbreak of the hereditary quarrel between the popes and the emperors. On the death of Pope Adrian IV. in 1159, a difference arose as to who should succeed him. The majority of the cardinals, and the Guelph party generally, were in favour of a Siennese, named Bandinelli, who assumed the title of Alexander III.; but Frederick gave his support to a rival or anti-pope named Victor, who was of Ghibelline sentiments; and after his death to another anti-pope named Paschal. Hence for many years a renewal of hostilities between the two powers—of excommunications on the one hand, and military marches against Rome on the other. The pope, as usual, was the more successful; and this the more easily, that he had the Lombard cities for his allies. Groaning under the tyranny of the imperial governors whom Frederick had appointed, these cities formed themselves into a league of offence and defence (1168); restored the Milanese to their city; and built a fortress which, out of defiance to the emperor, they named Alexandria, after his enemy the pope. Frederick was enraged, and fought battle after battle; but the Lombards were brave and resolute; their union gave them strength, and the pope's

blessing encouragement; and at length, in the year 1183, after a great battle at Legnano, a treaty was concluded at Constance, by which Frederick guaranteed the right of self-government to the Lombard cities, and allowed them to remain members of the league, which had now for twenty years been established. Accordingly, on Frederick's last visit to Italy in 1184, he was received with enthusiasm; and the marriage of his eldest son Henry with Constance, daughter and heiress of Roger II., king of the Two Sicilies, was celebrated with great pomp at Milan. By this marriage, a link was established between the German Empire and the Norman kingdom of Southern Italy.

174. Henry VI. succeeded his father Barbarossa in the year 1190. He aimed chiefly at two objects—the annexation of the Sicilian or Neapolitan kingdom, which was the inheritance of his wife, to the German crown; and the conversion of this crown from an elective dignity into a hereditary possession of his own family. In the first object, he succeeded after a violent opposition on the part of the Sicilians; in the second, he failed on account of the resistance of the German nobles. At his death in 1197, he left a son, Frederick, only two years of age, who had already, according to custom, been crowned king of the Romans; but the German States, unwilling to elect a mere infant, looked about for an emperor of more suitable age. The Ghibelline party—who regarded the House of Hohenstaufen as their natural leaders—fixed on Philip of Swabia, the younger brother of Henry VI.; the Guelph party chose Otho, the son of Henry the Lion, a nobleman who had performed a distinguished part in the reign of Barbarossa, and who, in consequence of a quarrel with that emperor, had been deprived of his paternal dukedom of Saxony, and driven into exile in England. It is from this same Henry the Lion, the head of the Guelph faction of his time, that the present royal family of England is descended—the freehold estates which Henry bequeathed to his descendants having been converted after his death into a ducal fief, called the Duchy of Brunswick.

175. The struggle between the two rival claimants of the German throne—Philip of Swabia and Otho IV.—is chiefly interesting as having been contemporary with the papacy of Innocent III. (1198–1216), the greatest pontiff, after Gregory VII., that ever sat on the papal throne. No pontiff carried his prerogative higher than Innocent III. He affirmed even more explicitly than Gregory VII. had done the maxim—that 'the pope, as the successor of St Peter, was set up by God to govern, not only the church, but the whole world;' and he compared the spiritual and the temporal powers respectively to the sun and moon—the one the greater, which rules by day, and shines by its own light; the other the lesser, which shines only at night, and that by reflected radiance. He was the first also to promulgate the doctrine—that the popes have a plenary power, enabling them to dispense with established laws, and to overrule them. Nor did he confine his views to theory. He issued decrees, and sent legates to all parts of Christendom; he summoned lords and bishops to Rome, to answer for their conduct; he compelled the kings of France and Leon to put away their wives; and the kings of Portugal, Aragon, and England paid him tribute as vassals.

176. Such a pope as Innocent was not the man to let slip the opportunity, afforded by the competition between Philip and Otho, for prosecuting the great enterprise bequeathed to him by his predecessors—of aggrandising the church at the expense of the empire. His pontificate was one series of interferences with the politics of Germany. First, he supported Otho against Philip, who as a Ghibelline was particularly obnoxious to the church; and then, after Philip's death (1202), he turned his hostility against Otho, on account of his treatment of his Italian subjects. Not content with excommunicating him, he pursued him with such rancour as to deprive him of the imperial crown, which he induced the German nobles to confer on Frederick, the son of Henry VI., now a youth of twenty years of age. Frederick, who assumed the title of Frederick II., was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle in the year 1215. Since his father's death, eighteen years before, he had been a ward of

the pope; and before his accession, he came under certain obligations to Innocent with respect to the manner in which he was to exercise his power, particularly in Italy.

177. The reign of Frederick II. (1215–1250) is an important period in the history of the German Empire. It was the period of the dying struggle between the empire and the church. If it had been possible for the empire to gain the victory, few men were so fit as Frederick to bring about that result. A man of great courage, of bold and clear understanding, and of considerable culture, he inherited, notwithstanding his education in Italy as a ward of the pope, all that imperial pride which had flowed with accumulating strength in the veins of Henry III., Henry IV., Henry V., and Barbarossa. He was even accused by the partisans of the papacy of being hostile to religion itself, a heathen in opinion, a man who had no belief in the doctrines of Christianity. Catholic historians of the present day represent him as having been a kind of intellectual monster—a sceptic in the thirteenth century. It is certain at least that he was a man of strong and peculiar character, whose conduct and mode of thinking were in many respects at variance with the prevailing spirit of his age. His position was also very peculiar and difficult. In Germany, he found himself little better than a nominal sovereign, the incessant feuds between his predecessors and the states having gradually loosened the bond between the crown and the princes who ruled individually each in his own territory. In Italy, he had more scope for the exercise of regal power; but there he had a variety of obstacles to contend with. In Southern Italy, he found very unruly subjects in his Sicilian kingdom, the inhabitants of which had been averse to the annexation of their country to the German crown during the reign of his father Henry VI., and were therefore ready to break out in revolt on the slightest occasion. In Northern Italy, the Lombard cities, which had grown in power and spirit under the free constitution granted to them a generation before by his grandfather Barbarossa, had divided themselves into two clusters—the one favourable to the imperial power, the other opposed to it. Lastly, in Central Italy—over

which Frederick had a claim of sovereignty in virtue of his title as king of Rome—the popes had the power almost entirely in their hands. Innocent III., indeed, died almost immediately after he had placed Frederick on the German throne; but his successors, Honorius III. (1216–1227), Gregory IX. (1227–1242), and Innocent IV. (1242–1254), were men animated by the same spirit, and sufficiently able to lead the church in her attacks upon the empire.

178. Frederick's exertions, continued over a period of twenty-five years, were all in vain. In the complex wars in which he was engaged in Italy—wars in which the Sicilians, the Lombards, and the popes had all a share—he often gained great successes, but always suffered in the end a greater loss. Ever in the midst of the turmoil, the popes were present to watch the progress of the conflict, and to interpose with their excommunications. Frederick was excommunicated so often, that he became accustomed to it; and very probably the scepticism of which he was accused arose from the necessity thus imposed upon him of going through life as an outcast from the church. But the sentence of excommunication, though it did not terrify Frederick himself, never lost its power over the majority of his subjects. Even the Ghibelline cities and houses wavered in their allegiance; and at length, in 1240, when Gregory IX. accompanied his excommunication by absolving his subjects from obedience, and urging them to a crusade against him as an impious person, all Germany and Italy were thrown into rebellion. In 1245, Innocent IV. followed up the sentence of his predecessor by convening a council at Lyon, where 140 prelates were present, and where Frederick was formally deprived of all his powers, dignities, and possessions. Frederick, against whom even his own son had rebelled, survived this stroke of ecclesiastical power only a few years. Resolute to the last, he carried on a war against those who were set up as his rivals—first against the Landgrave Henry of Thuringia, nicknamed the 'Parsons' King,' on account of his having been elected by the clergy; and then against his successor, Count William of Holland. His efforts, however, were

unavailing; and he died in 1250, leaving his second son, Conrad, to carry on the contest.

179. With Frederick II., the struggle which had been carried on for two centuries between the church and the empire may be considered to have ended. Italy was, for a time at least, relieved from German interference, and left to her own development; and even in Germany itself, the imperial power had fallen into irretrievable decay. Conrad IV., indeed, continued for some years to fight for his father's throne; but after his death in 1254, there ensued a period of hopeless anarchy and confusion, during which the imperial dignity was openly sold by the great German prelates to the highest bidder. It was first conferred on Richard Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England, and afterwards on Alphonso X., king of Castile, who gave each prelate 20,000 silver marks for his vote. This period (1254–1273) is known in German history as the period of the *Great Interregnum*. It was at length brought to an end by the election in 1273 of a Swiss nobleman, Count Rodolph of Hapsburg, with whose reign a new period of German history commences. At this point, therefore, in the meantime, we stop; and we shall conclude the present chapter with a brief view of the histories of the several feudal kingdoms, taken up at the point where we left them, and continued to the point at which we have now arrived.

180. GERMANY.—The history of this portion of Europe, from the accession of Henry III. in 1039, to the extinction of the imperial House of Swabia, or Hohenstaufen, in 1254, has been amply narrated in the preceding paragraphs; but it is necessary to append some account of the effects of so remarkable a series of events upon the internal constitution of the empire.

181. At the time of the accession of Henry III., the German Empire was in fact a great royalty, the holders of which were as truly monarchs as the kings of France or England. For, though since the time of Louis the German (851), the German states had been in theory the coadjutors of the emperors in the government, and though in form the empire was elective, yet in point of fact the emperors

possessed royal authority, and the rule of hereditary succession was in the main adhered to. First, the Saxons, as the most powerful of the German nations, kept the empire in their ducal line for a century (919–1024); and then the Franconians, to whom it was transferred, kept it in their ducal line for another century (1024–1125), though with much opposition from the Saxons. But though the German emperors started in very much the same position in relation to their vassals as the French and English kings maintained in relation to theirs, yet in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries this position was gradually altered. In France and England, the kingly power was gradually consolidated and increased; in Germany, the imperial power, nibbled at by the great vassals from within, and attacked by the popes from without, fell into a state of decay, from which not even the energies of Barbarossa and Frederick II. could recover it. By the middle of the thirteenth century, therefore, the German Empire, originally an aggregate of fiefs dependent on the emperors, was in reality a confederacy of independent states, of which the emperor was but the elective and temporary head. Not only had the original ducal fiefs become independent states, but the numerous smaller fiefs created from time to time by the emperors, by the splitting up of the larger fiefs, or by the partition of conquered territories, had assumed the title and functions of states. All the states, however, were not of equal rank. They were divided into various grades or denominations as follow:—(1.) Seven electorates, taking precedence of all the other states; namely, three archbishoprics—those of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne; and four temporal principalities—the palatinate of the Rhine (capital, Heidelberg), Saxony, Bohemia, and Brandenburg. These seven spiritual and temporal princes were called Electors, because the right of electing the emperor, originally belonging to all the states in common, had gradually become vested in their hands. (2.) Fifteen duchies—namely, Lorraine, Luxemburg, Limburg, Brabant, Cleves, Guelderland, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Carinthia, Brunswick, Holstein, Lauenburg, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. (3.) Two principalities—Nassau and

Anhalt. (4.) One margravate—Baden. There had been several margravates, or governorships of marches; but, with the exception of this one, they had changed their titles before the period in question. (5.) Three landgravates, or earldoms—Alsace, Hesse, and Thuringia. (6.) One burgravate, or lordship of a town—that of Nürnberg. (7.) Several counties—Holland, Hennegau, Flanders, Namur, &c. (8.) Three inferior archbishoprics—Salzburg, Magdeburg, and Bremen. (9.) Twenty-one bishoprics, named after the chief German cities. (10.) Ninety-five imperial cities, or municipalities—the most considerable of which were Frankfort, Spiers, Worms, Mayence, Ratisbon, Ulm, Augsburg, Strasburg, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Magdeburg, Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck.

182. Such was the political arrangement of Germany towards the close of the thirteenth century—an arrangement, the main features of which are to be seen in the map of Germany to this day, although the relative importance and magnitude of some of the states have been much altered by subsequent events. To trace the process by which such an arrangement had gradually come to pass is not easy. It is not well known on what principle the seven electorates acquired that dignity. That the three chief archbishoprics of Germany should have taken such precedence is not surprising, considering the influence and wealth of ecclesiastics in that age; but it might naturally be expected that their fellow-electors should have been the dukes of the five great nations which originally composed the empire—namely, Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, Lorraine, and Swabia. Two of these, Franconia and Swabia, had become extinct with the Hohenstaufen emperors, which might account for the rise of the palatinate of the Rhine, and the margravate of Brandenburg, as the powers next in influence at the time; but why the duchies of Lorraine and Bavaria should have been put into the second grade, while Bohemia, originally a Slavonian dependency, was placed in the first, it is more difficult to determine. For some time, indeed, Bavaria contended with Bohemia for the honour; but Lorraine made no such claim, probably

because there was some traditional reason for having exactly *seven* electorates.

183. ITALY.—The history of Italy during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, is so bound up with that of Germany, that in narrating the one we have narrated the other. For the sake of clearness, however, we add a general glance at the state of the peninsula, as respects its political divisions and their modes of government at the close of the thirteenth century, at which period the connection between Germany and Italy was all but entirely broken.

184. I. *The Italian Republics.*—These republics, consisting each of a city and a greater or less district of country attached to it, occupied Northern and Central Italy. Most of them had arisen by imperceptible degrees during the wars with the German emperors, the effect of which, so far as Italy was concerned, had been to develop the power of the cities, and throw all the authority into their hands. The republics were very numerous, but may be classified into groups as follow:—(1.) *The Lombard Cities*—the chief of which were Milan, Cremona, Pavia, Brescia, Bergamo, Parma, Piacenza, Mantua, Lodi, Alessandria, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Treviso. (2.) *The Cities of Romagna*—situated in or near the northern portion of the present states of the church, the chief of which were Bologna, Imola, Faenza, Ferrara, and Modena. (3.) *The Tuscan Cities*—the chief of which were Florence, Pisa, Siena, Arezzo, and Lucca. (4.) *Genoa* and *Venice*—separate cities of note, which do not fall properly under any of the foregoing classes.

185. The number of these little republics, and the abundance of their exploits, render their history confusing. Distinguished by the bravery and tenacity with which they had fought for or against the emperors, they were no sooner secured of their independence by the battle of Legnano (1176) and the peace of Constance (1183), than they let loose their fury against each other—the Guelph cities, or those which had fought for Italy and the popes against the emperors, turning their animosity against the Ghibelline cities; and the Ghibelline cities, on the other hand, retaliating

by similar hostilities. Among the Lombard cities, Milan headed the Guelph, Parma and Cremona the Ghibelline faction. The cities of Romagna, of which Bologna was the most powerful, were generally in the Guelph interest; but the Ghibellines had many adherents in them. In Tuscany, Florence was the stronghold of Guelph feeling, Pisa of Ghibelline; the smaller cities changing their policy with circumstances. Genoa and Venice pursued paths of their own, but on the whole sided with the popes against the emperors.

186. Arrayed in groups against each other by the influence of the traditional distinction of Guelph and Ghibelline, the republics were continually finding pretexts for war—city against city, and group against group. The inhabitants of cities separated but by a few miles, were often filled with the most implacable mutual hatred. A Paduan hated a Milanese; and a Florentine or Genoese, if seen in the streets of Pisa, ran a risk of being stoned. And not only were there feuds between city and city, but the same spirit of political discord pervaded individual cities—setting family against family, and producing riots like those between the Capulets and the Montagues described in *Romeo and Juliet;* hence each little state or republic was liable to convulsions and changes of government. Governed at first by annual magistrates called Consuls —two, three, four, or even ten or twelve in number—the cities had generally adopted the practice introduced by Barbarossa, of having a *podestá*, or single chief magistrate, who exercised authority in conjunction with a council of select citizens, subject to the will of a larger and more popular assembly. These podestás, chieftains, or captains, were sometimes native citizens of wealth and rank; but often strangers, selected from the rural nobility, or from a neighbouring city. Their efforts to increase their power, and convert their delegated authority into a tyranny—their disputes with their councils, and the disputes between these councils and the citizens at large—gave rise in almost every city to new factions, calling themselves *aristocratic* and *democratic*, whose mutual contests complicated the old controversy between Guelphs and Ghibellines. Some

cities ultimately settled into a more aristocratic, others into a more popular form of constitution; but in both cases, certain leading houses or families usually struggled for the ascendancy. When one side or the other suddenly triumphed, a revolution occurred, blood was shed, and it was customary for the majority to drive their principal opponents into banishment, in which case other cities were ready to receive them. Yet, notwithstanding these feuds and confusions, which must have made the Italian republics difficult places to live in, there are perhaps no states in the middle ages which possess greater interest for the historian. As in ancient Athens, so in these small Italian republics, the intense stimulus given to all kinds of human energy by the continual operation of political passions upon all the inhabitants of a very limited territory, produced greater varieties of character, and more extraordinary displays of mental power, than are commonly found in large states, subject to a uniform and equable government. We shall have to allude hereafter to the wonderful progress of some of the republics, particularly Florence, in art and literature; meanwhile, let us glance at the two great commercial states—Venice and Genoa.

187. *Venice*, whose conquest of the Dalmatian coast in 1000 A.D. has already been mentioned, gained a further increase of power and territory during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the year 1177, Pope Alexander III., to reward the Venetians for taking part in the famous Lombard League against Barbarossa, conferred on them the titular sovereignty of the Adriatic—a circumstance commemorated ever afterwards by an annual ceremony at Venice, in which the doge, throwing a ring into the sea, declared it to be his wedded wife. More substantial acquisitions were the islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, and Crete or Candia, and some port-towns in Greece—all gained by martial or commercial enterprise during the thirteenth century. About the same time, the constitution of Venice was fixed in the form which it retained so long as the republic lasted. The doges, who had originally possessed prerogatives of a monarchical

kind, had since the year 1172 been limited in the exercise of their power by a council of 480 persons, chosen annually by the people. This assembly, however, gradually usurped privileges, which rendered it independent of the people; and in the year 1298, the reigning doge, Pietro Gradenigo, passed a law, the effect of which was to make the office of councillor hereditary exclusively in the families of those then holding it. Thus the government of Venice became a permanent civic aristocracy, with a doge at its head, chosen for life by a very complicated system of ballot, and restricted in the exercise of his power; and though various efforts were made to subvert this constitution, it remained in force, and was jealously guarded by a secret council, called the Council of Ten, instituted at first for a temporary purpose, but afterwards annually renewed by the election of the Great Council, kept up as a permanent tribunal for the trial of state offences. In the dead of night, the officers of this court would visit the house of a suspected person, and carry him off to be tried before the assembled judges: if found guilty, a black gondola was in readiness to carry him out to sea, and all that would be heard of him would be the plash of his weighted body, as it sank in the waves of the Adriatic. By this system of terror, sedition was prevented, and a servile state of tranquillity insured in Venice.

188. *Genoa*, situated on the opposite side of the peninsula from Venice, was her great commercial rival. Governed at first by consuls, the Genoese chose a podestá in 1190, whom they afterwards made subordinate to another officer styled Captain. But this want of stability in their internal government did not interfere with their commercial prosperity. They acquired possession of the islands of Scio, Mytilene, and Tenedos, in the Grecian Archipelago, as well as Smyrna and other ports in Asia Minor and on the Black Sea, and Cyprus became tributary to them. For more than a century, they were rivalled in their commercial activity by the Pisans, who fiercely contended with them for the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, which both tried to wrest from

the Saracens. At the close of the thirteenth century, however, the Genoese confirmed their superiority by destroying the ports of Pisa and Leghorn, and enforcing such regulations as crippled the power of the Pisans. Genoa from that time was a powerful state, having a considerable territory in Italy, and numerous commercial stations on the Mediterranean. Kings and princes sought her alliance, as that of an important marine power; and the mastery of the sea was a subject of dispute between the flags of Genoa and Venice.

189. II. *The States of the Church.*—This territory consisted of the portions of Central Italy over which the popes exercised authority as temporal sovereigns. It was formed of the grants made from time to time to the popes by kings and princes—such as the original dotations of the territory of the exarchs of Ravenna in 756 and 800; the city and district of Benevento, ceded to Pope Leo IX. by the Emperor Henry III. in 1050; and the bequest of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany to Gregory VII. in 1077. It was long, however, before the temporal authority of the popes over these territories was firmly established. On the one hand, the claims of the German emperors as the feudal superiors of Rome and Central Italy were so legally fixed, that even those popes who asserted most absolutely their spiritual power over the princes and peoples of the earth, and who, in virtue of that spiritual power excommunicated the emperors, did not venture openly to proclaim themselves independent of the empire as temporal princes. On the other hand, the people of Romagna, partaking of the restless spirit of liberty which characterised all the Italians at that period, did not regard the popes in the light of temporal masters, but, even in fighting for the popes against the emperors, looked forward to some temporal government distinct from that of the ecclesiastics. Accordingly, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as we have seen in the instance of the political movement under Arnold of Brescia, the popes, besides their struggle with the emperors, were engaged in continual disputes with their own subjects in Rome and the neighbouring cities. And after the cessation

of German influence in Italy, occasioned by the triumph of the Lombard League (1183), not only did the various cities of Romagna—such as Bologna, Faenza, and Imola, all of which were within the limits of the ancient exarchate of Ravenna, and therefore theoretically within the papal domain—set up free governments under podestás and councils, but an attempt of the same kind was made in Rome itself. The Romans, instead of permitting the superseded authority of the imperial prefects to fall entirely into the hands of the popes, elected at first a council of fifty-six noble citizens, and afterwards (1192) an annual foreign magistrate, called a Senator, whose powers were exactly equivalent to those of a podestá. These senators—the most distinguished of whom was a Bolognese named Brancaleone, who ruled Rome with a rod of iron for some years towards the middle of the thirteenth century—exercised the sovereign privilege of coining money; and some of the Roman coins of this period are extant, bearing very republican legends. Still, the theory of the papal sovereignty survived; and energetic popes, such as Innocent III., did all they could to carry the theory into practice, by exacting from the senators of Rome, and from the podestás of Bologna, Rimini, and other cities of the Romagna, an oath of feudal subordination. The papacy of Innocent III. (1198–1216) may be regarded as the time of the definite establishment of the temporal sovereignty of the popes over a portion of Central Italy. Such sovereignty had indeed been claimed, and partially exercised, by previous popes, especially since the time of Gregory VII.; but Innocent first gave it a systematic form, by bestowing on certain territories the name of 'the Patrimony of St Peter.' It required the efforts of subsequent popes, however, and particularly of Boniface VIII. (1298–1303), a man of kindred ambition to that of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., to consolidate the papal sovereignty, and render it coextensive with the present area of the states of the Church.

190. III. *The Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.*—This Italian sovereignty—founded, as we have seen, by the swords of Norman adventurers about the middle of the

eleventh century (§ 129)—may be considered to have attained its full extent as early as 1127, when the dukedom of Apulia and Calabria, held by the heirs of Robert Guiscard, and the county of Sicily, held by the heirs of his younger brother, Roger, were united in the person of Roger II., the son of the latter. To these conjoined territories, both nominal fiefs of the Holy See, Roger added by conquest the small principality of Capua, and the cities of Naples and Amalfi, then existing as free republics; and by this means he established the boundaries of the Neapolitan or Sicilian kingdom almost as they now stand in the map. Raised from the title of duke to that of king by Pope Innocent II. (1139), Roger bequeathed the kingdom of the Sicilies to his descendants, from whom it passed, as we have seen (§ 174), to the German emperors of the Swabian Hohenstaufen line by the marriage of Henry VI., the son of Barbarossa, to Constance, a daughter of Roger, in the year 1184. Henry VI., and his son, Frederick II., retained the sovereignty, notwithstanding the disaffection of the Sicilians; and after the death of Frederick, the crown was seized by Mainfroi, his natural son (1258). Mainfroi, who was a man of talent, was, like all of his family, particularly hostile to the popes; and in the year 1265, Pope Clement IV., as feudal lord of the Sicilian kingdom, offered it to Charles of Anjou, Count of Provence, and brother of the French king, Louis IX., granting it to him and his heirs for ever, on condition of their doing homage and fealty to the Holy See, and presenting the pope annually with a white riding-horse and a certain tribute in gold. Charles accepted the offer; defeated Mainfroi, and became master of the kingdom, into which he brought a great retinue of Frenchmen. For several years, Naples and Sicily were in the possession of this prince and his French followers; but in 1282, an event took place which bereft him of Sicily, and left him only the kingdom of Naples. This was the famous insurrection known by the name of the *Sicilian Vespers.* On the evening of the 30th of March 1282, being the second day of Easter, when the people of the Sicilian town of Palermo were on their

way to church, a sudden tumult arose, in consequence of an insult offered by one Drochet, a French soldier, to a native bride, under pretence of searching for arms. A young Sicilian, exasperated at this affront, stabbed him with his own sword; and a tumult ensuing, the Sicilians massacred all the French, with the exception of a single gentleman, whose benevolence had made him popular; and the revolt spread, with similar results, over the whole island, until 8000 French were massacred. To secure the triumph gained by this terrible insurrection, the Sicilians invited Pedro III., king of Aragon, to become their sovereign; and from that time Sicily was a dependency of the Aragonese throne, while Charles of Anjou remained king of Naples.

191. SPAIN.—The history of Spain during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, consisted in internal changes in the governments of the three Christian kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon, and Castile (see § 118), and in wars carried on by these kingdoms, sometimes severally, and sometimes conjointly, against the numerous Moorish or Mohammedan princes who then divided the southern portion of the peninsula. After various changes of dynasty, Navarre passed by marriage into the hands of the French king, Philip the Fair, in the year 1274; and the sons and successors of Philip were styled Kings of France and Navarre. The kings of Aragon, besides making wars against their Moorish neighbours, took part in the general European movement of their times, and distinguished themselves as obedient vassals of the popes, by one of whom—Boniface VIII.—Pedro III. was confirmed in the forcible seizure of Sicily from Charles of Anjou. The most energetic line of Spanish princes, however, was that of the kings of Leon and Castile. Alphonso VI., a king of this line, took Madrid out of the hands of the Moors (1085); subdued their kingdom of Toledo; and was on the point of expelling them altogether from Spain, when his victories were checked by invasions of fresh bands of Moorish adventurers from Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, Morocco, and other parts of Africa, led by fanatical chiefs, who, like the founder of the Mohammedan religion, blended

religious enthusiasm with military prowess. The ultimate effect of these invasions, however, was to produce disunion among the Mohammedan rulers of Spain; and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, the efforts of two kings of Castile—Alphonso VIII. and Ferdinand III.—were so successful as to extinguish the Mohammedan kingdoms of Cordova, Murcia, and Seville, and leave only Granada in the possession of the Moors (1236).

192. One result of the victories of the Castilian and Aragonese kings over the Moors, was the formation of the kingdom of *Portugal.* Portugal, or Porto Calo, was originally only a government formed out of portions of Western Spain conquered from the Moors, and conferred by Alphonso VI., king of Castile, on a French noble, Henry of Burgundy, for his brave military services (1090). Alphonso I., the son of this Henry, Count of Porto Calo, increased his dominions by fresh conquests from the Moors; and throwing off his allegiance to the kings of Castile, adopted the plan, then so common, of acknowledging himself a vassal of the Holy See, and thus in reality constituting himself an independent sovereign. His immediate successors, however, were engaged in a contest with the popes, respecting the rights of the clergy in the newly established kingdom; and it was not till 1289 that the contest terminated.

193. FRANCE.—In France, as in all the other feudal kingdoms of this period, the chief subject of interest was the struggle carried on between the kings and their great vassals. When Hugh Capet ascended the French throne, and during the reigns of his immediate successors—Robert, Henry, Philip I., Louis VI. (1108–1137), and Louis VII. (1137–1180), (see § 121)—France, though nominally one kingdom, was in reality a cluster of independent sovereignties, the most important of which were the duchies of Normandy, Burgundy, and Aquitaine, and the counties of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse. The holders of these six great fiefs had the exclusive right to the title of Peers of France; and they, with the Duke of Gascony, the Counts of Anjou, Ponthieu, Vermandois, and Bourges, and the Lords of Bourbon and Coucy, stood in immediate feudal

relation to the king, and constituted an aristocracy, limiting his authority, and constantly engaged in quarrels with him. The great mass of the French people had nothing to do with the kings who held their courts in Paris, but were governed by their respective territorial princes. 'At this period,' says an eminent historian, 'France has, properly speaking, no national history. The character and fortune of those who were called its kings were little more important to the majority of the nation than those of foreign princes.' Only the great vassals came in contact with the kings; and the inhabitants of the different parts of France, instead of calling themselves by the general designation of Frenchmen, went by such specific names as Normands, Manceaux, Angevins, Provençeaux, &c., according to the territory they occupied.

194. The result of the struggle, however, between the kings and the great vassals, was different in France from what it had been in Germany. In Germany, as we have seen, the royal power steadily declined; in France, it steadily increased. The five first Capetian kings did each something to promote the power of the crown. The first monarch, however, who succeeded in becoming to some extent the head of the French nation, as distinct from the aristocracy of the great houses, was Philip-Augustus (1180–1223), the fifth in succession from Hugh Capet. This astute, patient, and unscrupulous prince, whose character somewhat resembled that of the Roman emperor from whom he derived his surname, did more than any of his predecessors to curb the power of the French nobles, and to make his activity and influence felt throughout the whole nation. It was during his reign, too, that the arms of France were first conspicuously successful in the great war between the French crown and the Norman kings of England. Ever since the conquest of England by the Norman duke, William, which had taken place in the reign of Philip I., the fourth of the Capets, there had been a spirit of hostility between the French and the English kings —the former claiming over the Norman dukes a right of sovereignty, which they, in their new capacity as kings of England, were not disposed to acknowledge. The animosity

had broken out in actual war in the reign of Louis VI.; but in the reign of his successor, Louis VII., the great abilities of the English monarch, Henry II., of the house of Plantagenet, turned the fortunes of the war so completely to the advantage of the English side, that at one time it even seemed likely that the Plantagenets would supplant the Capets on the throne of France. In the successors of Henry, however—the bold, restless, passion-led Richard Lion-heart, and the contemptible and knavish John Lackland—Philip-Augustus found men for whom he was far more than a match; and it was not long before he succeeded in wresting from the English kings, and re-annexing to the French crown, all the possessions which they claimed in France.

195. Philip-Augustus was not merely an ambitious prince, bent on increasing the power of royalty; he was possessed with the spirit of a true ruler. Though not a man of high principle or of benevolent disposition, he perceived the duties of his position too clearly not to direct his attention to the general interests of his people. 'He effected many things in promotion of what we should call the civilisation of the kingdom. He had the streets of Paris paved; he extended and heightened the walls; he constructed aqueducts, hospitals, churches, market-places; he occupied himself earnestly with improving the material condition of his subjects. Nor did he neglect their moral and intellectual development. The university of Paris owed to him its chief privileges, and received extensive protection. To him also France is indebted for the institution of the royal archives.' Accordingly, when he died in 1223, he left to his son, Louis VIII., a kingdom well organised, and attached to its sovereign.

196. Louis VIII. reigned only three years (1223–1226); but his short reign is signalised by an event of importance, in the history not only of France, but of Europe—the final persecution of the Albigenses. Of all parts of France, that which stood most out of connection with the royal house of Capet was the county of Languedoc, subject to the Counts of Toulouse. This territory had become the principal seat of a religious heresy, originally imported

from the East into Italy, but which had since spread into Southern France and Northern Spain, and incorporated with itself other heretical sects native to those countries. The original Albigenses—so called from the town Albigeois, where their tenets were condemned by a council in the year 1176—entertained peculiar notions as to the existence and powers of the Evil Principle of the universe, the antagonist of the supreme and beneficent Deity. They had also a peculiar organisation: the more strict of them leading a life of abstinence and celibacy, while the rest came under a vow to adopt similar austerities before their death. Distinct from the Albigenses proper, but confounded with them in the opinion of the period, were the Waldenses—so called from their founder, Peter Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, who, about the middle of the twelfth century, preached doctrines resembling those of modern Protestantism, and gained many adherents in the south of France. Both Albigenses and Waldenses agreed in disowning the supremacy of the pope. Hence they were subjected to violent persecution from the supporters of the papacy; and in 1198, Pope Innocent III. sent a commission into Southern France, charged with the task of punishing and extirpating them. The Counts of Toulouse stood forth as their protectors; and a war ensued, in which these counts had to contend against a confederacy of French nobles sworn to execute the papal vengeance on the heretics, and led by Simon de Montfort, a man of extraordinary courage and energy. Philip-Augustus stood aloof from the contest; but his son, Louis VIII., undertook a personal crusade against them. During his reign he carried on the war with vigour, and though he died before it was concluded, the Count of Toulouse was finally (1229) obliged to yield; the Inquisition was established in Southern France, and the relentless spirit of bigotry was satiated with the blood of the poor Albigenses.

197. Louis VIII. was succeeded by his son Louis IX., called also St Louis. With the exception of the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius, history does not present another character comparable to that of this

monarch for the severe, pious, and almost morbidly exact manner in which he endeavoured to discharge his duties as a king. He was the most mild and conscientious of men; and had his intellectual endowments been higher, he would have been the greatest of the French kings. His long reign (1226–1270) was a period of just government and tranquillity for France. By his personal influence, and by his formal ordinances and enactments, he did much to put an end to those feudal practices of private war, judicial combat, and the like, which tended to anarchy and disorder. His extreme conscientiousness, and his desire to be a pattern of Christian principle in all his dealings, led him to do what hardly any other sovereign has ever been known to do—resign rights of the crown, acquired by what he thought unjust means. He restored to their proper owners properties which had been seized by his predecessors; and in cases where the proper owners could not be discovered, he caused the property to be sold, and the proceeds given to the poor. He astonished and offended his nobles by restoring to Henry III. of England a portion of the possessions which his grandfather, Philip, had wrested from John Lackland. Yet, notwithstanding these acts of concession, his government was sufficiently wise and strict to preserve and even increase the royal prerogative. The only grave fault of his long reign—and even this fault was a consequence of his anxiety to do what he considered to be his duty—was the encouragement he gave to the practice of religious persecution. As he was only twelve years of age when he ascended the throne, he had not much personal concern in the persecution of the Albigenses; but after he arrived at manhood, he made it a rule of conduct, as a good Catholic, to yield implicit obedience to the pope and the clergy in all matters of faith; and hence he permitted a tribunal for the suppression of heresy to be established in Paris, and willingly lent his sword to punish religious dissent throughout his dominions. It was in consequence of this zeal in behalf of the Catholic faith that he was canonised by the church under the name of St Louis. On his death, he was succeeded by his son, Philip III.,

surnamed the Bold; who, after a reign of fifteen years (1270–1285), bequeathed the throne to his son, Philip IV., surnamed the Fair (1285–1314).

198. The British Islands.—In England, the efforts of the first Norman kings, after they had secured their conquest, were directed to the same great object which all monarchs of the period had in view—the establishment of the royal supremacy over the conflicting aristocracy of the feudal nobles. The immediate successors of the Conqueror were William Rufus (1087–1100), Henry I., surnamed Beauclerc (1100–1135), and Stephen (1135–1154); the details of whose reigns belong almost exclusively to English history. In 1154, Henry II. ascended the throne, the first king of the Plantagenet dynasty—his mother, Matilda, daughter of Henry I., having married a French noble, whose family device was a *plant à genêt*, or sprig of broom—and during his reign the English gained those great victories in France which, as has been already mentioned, very nearly united England and France under the same government. Henry likewise carried his arms into Ireland, which was still in possession of its native chiefs; and by planting garrisons in different parts of the country, began that subjugation of the Irish to the English crown, which it required four centuries more to complete. A great portion of the reign of Henry's son and successor, Richard I., or Cœur de Lion (1189–1199), was spent in foreign adventure; and the one great event which signalises the reign of his silly and profligate successor, John (1199–1216), is the granting of the *Magna Charta*. This famous charter—the foundation of English liberties, and 'to have produced which, preserved it and matured it, constitute,' says a distinguished historian, 'the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind'—was executed on the 19th of June 1215, and was the result of a long struggle between John and the English barons, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head. It guaranteed to every citizen of England his personal freedom, the security of his property, and a fair trial by his peers; and it provided that no king of England should exact subsidies without the advice of his

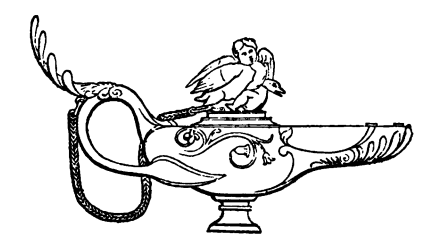
parliament. John afterwards tried to break the charter, and was abetted by Pope Innocent III., who issued a bull of excommunication against the English nobles. The nobles thereupon invited Louis, the son of Philip-Augustus, king of France, to assume the crown; but on the death of John, they repented of their choice of a foreigner, and rallied round Henry III., the son of John. The long reign of this king (1216–1272) was a period of anarchy; and it was a relief for England when he died, and left the throne to his able and ambitious son, Edward I. The great scheme of this monarch (1272–1307), in the endeavour to accomplish which he spent his life, was the consolidation of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland into one kingdom. In this he so far succeeded. He continued the conquest of Ireland, begun by Henry II.: Wales, which had till then been governed by native princes tributary to the English kings, he annexed, after a bloody contest, to the English crown; and from that time the eldest sons of the English monarchs have been styled Princes of Wales. In Scotland, however, over which he sought to establish his influence on the occasion of a sudden vacancy of the throne, caused by the extinction of the native line of Celtic kings, he met with a resolute resistance. When all the nobles had yielded, the patriot Wallace raised the standard of his country's independence (1297); and though this great man died on a scaffold in London, his efforts kept the spirit of freedom alive, and preserved the Scottish throne for a new line of kings, the first of whom was Robert Bruce.

199. THE SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOMS OF THE NORTH.—The events which took place in these kingdoms during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, were not of much importance in relation to the general condition of Europe. In *Denmark*, the dynasty founded by Sweyn Estrithson (see § 137) continued to hold the throne; but the authority of the monarchs was reduced to insignificance by the power of the feudal lords, and of the great clergy, who claimed the right of ratifying the election of each successive sovereign. During the reigns of Waldemar I., Canute VI., and Waldemar II. (1160–1230), the power

of Denmark as a nation was considerably increased by the conquests effected by these sovereigns among the Slavonic tribes to the east of Denmark, and on the coasts of the Baltic; but these conquests were only temporary, and on the death of Waldemar II., Denmark was restored to its natural limits. Meanwhile, *Norway* pursued the tenor of its way under the descendants of Olaf Tryggueson (see § 137), full, doubtless, of feuds and other incidents natural to a barbaric period, but not of a kind to interest any but Norwegians. In *Sweden*, where Christianity had to maintain a long struggle with the ancient paganism of Odin (see § 137), the throne was frequently during the eleventh and twelfth centuries disputed between Christian and pagan claimants; and sometimes two or three kings reigned simultaneously in different parts of the country. Ultimately, however, the Christian princes of the line of Eric (§ 115) gained the ascendancy; and during the thirteenth century, these sovereigns extended the power of Sweden, and with it the Christian religion, into Finland and other northern countries adjoining the Baltic.

200. HUNGARY.—The history of Hungary during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, under the Arpad kings, was one continued scene of confusion and civil strife. Two things alone in this period of Hungarian history are worthy of special record—the conquests effected by the Magyars in the twelfth century at the expense of the Greeks, the Slavonians, and the Venetians; and the passing in the year 1222 of the famous *Golden Bull*, which continued till the year 1848 to be the charter of the Hungarian nation. Among the permanent results of the conquests, was the incorporation of the Slavonian countries of Croatia and Slavonia Proper with Hungary. Other conquests, which extended the power of the Magyars over the Bulgarians and among the Dalmatians of the Adriatic, were not permanent. The Golden Bull was the result of a paction between Andrew II., king of Hungary, and his nobles. It guaranteed to the Hungarian nobles and clergy exemption from taxes, and the possession of their feudal rights; but it left the mass of the Slavonian population still in the condition of serfs.

201. THE SLAVONIAN COUNTRIES OF EASTERN EUROPE.—These countries, also, at the period under notice, were the scene of such distractions and confusions, that it is difficult to disentangle their separate histories. Large masses of the southern Slavonians, as we have seen—such as the Bohemians, the Moravians, the Croats, the Bulgarians, &c.—had been attached more or less strictly to the more powerful states with which they were in contact—namely, the German Empire, the Greek Empire, and Hungary: and only the *Poles* and the *Russians* continued to maintain an independent position as Slavonian nations—the former governed by their native princes of the line of Piast, the latter by the descendants of the Scandinavian Ruric.



STATE OF FEUDAL SOCIETY.

202. The period commencing with the ninth and terminating with the thirteenth century, is generally regarded as that of the growth and maturity of the feudal system in Europe. This system did not prevail uniformly in every part of Europe, but only in those countries which had been affected by the Germanic invasions—such as France, England, Italy, Spain, and the German Empire. These, however, were the countries of chief importance; and in order to understand the general condition of Europe in the middle ages, it is necessary to consider a little more in detail the peculiarities of feudal society as exemplified in those countries.

203. In studying feudal society, that which should be first attended to is the simple *fief*. Every feudal country was nothing more than an aggregation of fiefs—each fief complete within itself; and all the fiefs connected by a kind of organisation with the supreme power or monarchy of the country. In order, therefore, to form an idea of the general social state of France, Italy, Spain, Britain, or Germany, during the feudal period, we must first conceive a distinct picture of a single fief, and then ascertain the bonds which connected the miscellaneous fiefs with the central authority of the nation.

204. Let us fancy, then, an English or French fief in the twelfth or the thirteenth century—one of those feudal estates or properties so vividly described by Sir Walter Scott in *Ivanhoe*, and in some of his other novels. The estate may be large or small; it may include a circuit of only a mile or two, or a circuit of many miles. In either case, it consists properly of two things—the *castle* of the

lord or proprietor, and the *village* or *attached domain.* The castle, where the proprietor resides with his family and household-servants, is the object of chief interest to all upon the estate. It is in most cases situated on a height, or in some secure spot, and is built as massively and grimly as possible, with battlements from which the country around can be seen, and thick walls, surrounded by a moat or ditch, crossed by draw-bridges. Such structures, unknown in ancient times, were a consequence of the unsettled state of society after the German invasions. Kings in various countries, and especially the successors of Charlemagne, had tried to discourage the practice of building such fortified places; but the necessity of the times demanded them, and they sprang up with wonderful rapidity all over Europe. They served a double purpose—they were places of defence where peaceful men could be secure against turbulent neighbours, on which account even monasteries were fortified; and they were strongholds whence men of lawless habits could sally out to fight and to pillage. In either case, the life of the inmates of such castles, when not actually engaged in warlike strife, was a life of seclusion and indolence. At no time in the history of the world was intercourse between man and man, or at least between district and district, so confined as during the feudal period. Shut up within his castle, in the society of his wife and children, and attended by his butler, his chamberlain, and his men-at-arms—the descendants of those who had served his forefathers—the feudal proprietor, in the intervals between his warlike or predatory excursions, had almost nothing to do. To burnish up his armour, to go out hunting or fishing, or to listen during the long winter-evenings by the hall-fire to songs and stories, sung or recited by a member of his household, or by some minstrel whom chance had brought to the castle—such were the occupations of the owners of feudal estates. This kind of life had many important effects on the character of those submitted to it. The isolation of men from each other, throwing them upon their own energies, developed in the feudal ages an individuality and singularity of character, rare in more

civilised times. Men were more rough, passionate, and original than we now see them; both good and bad qualities existed in greater excess, and were combined in more extraordinary forms in different individuals. Moreover, the indolence of the life of the inhabitants of feudal castles, varied only by the intense excitement of war, and expeditions in which death might be the result, created a passion for adventure, and a fearlessness in quest of it, which it is difficult now to realise. To a feudal lord, the castle was, as it were, a little world, beyond which there lay a greater world full of dangers and wonders, into which one could only go with a brave heart and a drawn sword. On the other hand, the little world within the castle was one of more close and intimate relations than now prevail. The relations of husband and wife, of father and son, of master and servant, were more strict and sacred, because the whole activity of the community consisted in the discharge of the duties involved in these relations. It is a fact admitting of proof, that the greater consideration in which the female sex is held in modern, as compared with ancient times, may be traced in some degree to the scope given to female influence by the peculiar nature of feudal society. During the presence of the feudal lord in his castle, his wife was his chief adviser and companion; during his absence, she took his place, and even, when necessary, conducted the defence of the castle.

205. Outside the castle lay the feudal village and domain, inhabited by the agricultural population subject to the proprietor. They lived for the most part in rude huts or hovels, exposed to the attacks of those who came to make war upon their lord, and leading altogether a very precarious existence. Although generally included under the single denomination of *colōni*, *rustĭci*, labourers, or villeins, they were not all related to the lord of the soil in the same manner. Some were literally slaves or serfs, the born property of the lord of the soil, with no rights of their own, and entirely at their lord's disposal. Since the foundation of the Christian Church, however, there had been a gradual diminution of this class of men; and the agricultural population on the feudal estates in

most countries consisted for the most part of villeins proper—that is, of men not serfs, but free-born, lending their services to their lord for a consideration, or paying him rent as tenants for pieces of his land. It was a theoretical maxim, that over such villeins the lord had not full power. But, practically, the power of a feudal lord over his villeins was nearly absolute. During the Roman Empire, the coloni, or husbandmen, if they were aggrieved by the proprietor from whom they held their lands, had regular civil magistrates and judges to appeal to; but under the feudal system, the magistrate and the proprietor were one and the same person. The lord of any given fief was also the judge within that fief, and hence, what he could not do in the one capacity, he could do in the other. Thus, the greater feudal lords arrogated and exercised the right of life and death over villeins, and even over such of their own household-servants as held their places by fief, as well as over their born thralls; and every great castle had its dungeons for containing criminals, its gibbet for hanging them, and its pit or well for drowning them. The *idea* of individual freedom remained, and was even asserted—sometimes by outbreaks of the peasantry themselves when oppressed by their lords, sometimes by the church, and sometimes by monarchs anxious to curtail the power of the nobles—but, on the whole, force prevailed, and authority was in the hands of those who had strength to use it.

206. Let us now consider what were the relations of the fiefs—the atoms of feudal society—to each other. Generally speaking, the holders of adjacent fiefs were connected together by no bonds of a legal character. They had, of course, their mutual friendships and antipathies, and might occasionally pay visits to each other for purposes of courtesy or business; but such connections were purely optional. That which connected them formally and legally was, their common relationship to their seigneur or suzerain—that is, the superior proprietor, generally a duke, count, or other dignitary, to whom they all owed allegiance for their fiefs. This seigneur or suzerain, like the inferior proprietors, had his castle and special domain, which was the central point

of the whole cluster of fiefs, and which was proportionally larger and more splendid than the castles and properties of his vassals. Often the suzerain had several castles and several personal estates, situated in different parts of the territory over which he was suzerain. Wherever the suzerain was, with his retinue of men-at-arms, villeins, and serfs, there was the court of the suzerainty. The precise relations between the suzerain and the co-vassals, who constituted the inferior proprietary, depended on the nature of the respective fiefs, as settled between the ancestors of the suzerain and the ancestors of the respective fief-holders. No fewer than eighty distinct kinds of fiefs have been enumerated as existing during the middle ages. Generally, however, all the fiefs involved such obligations on the part of the vassal-proprietors as these—the duty of attending at stated times at the court of the suzerain to do homage, or to advise with him upon his affairs; the duty of assisting him in his wars and law-processes with other suzerains of the kingdom; the duty of contributing to his ransom, if he were taken prisoner; and the duty in certain cases of furnishing him with pecuniary aids. When a vassal died, his heir had to receive his investiture at the hands of the suzerain, on which occasion it was common to offer him a gift. The suzerain had also the right of guardianship over male heirs during their minority; and where a property devolved upon an heiress, the suzerain administered it, until he had provided her with a husband. An heiress was not free to choose a husband for herself, but was bound to accept one out of a certain number, generally three, named by the suzerain; and as the suzerain commonly bestowed the heiresses at his disposal on persons who had earned his esteem by services, or even by gifts, this part of his privilege was not unimportant. Another thing which contributed to increase his power was the practice, almost universal among the richer vassals, of sending their sons to the court of the suzerain, to be educated in the use of arms, and in the forms of feudal ceremony. But, in theory at least, the power of the suzerain over his vassals had very marked limits. When the vassal had discharged all the obligations to his suzerain

involved in the charter of his fief, he was in other respects perfectly independent. He had a legal claim upon his suzerain, in return, for protection and justice; and though the suzerain might neglect his duties, or encroach on the rights of his vassals, this could only be by recourse to his superior military force, and the vassal might resist him if he liked.

207. When two co-vassals of the same suzerain quarrelled, the proper course for the party who thought himself aggrieved was to appeal to the suzerain. It was then the duty of the suzerain to do justice in the case, not absolutely according to his own views, but by holding a court of all his vassals—the *peers*, as they were called—of the two disputants. If either party refused to acquiesce in the judgment thus pronounced by the court of the suzerain, the suzerain and the other party might use force to execute the decision; in which case, the dispute took the form of a miniature civil war. Indeed, it was a recognised principle, that the plaintiff or defendant in any case might refuse a judicial settlement of the case by the feudal court, and appeal to wager of battle—that is, to a duel, formally arranged between himself and his adversary, or between proxies appointed by each. In case of deadly quarrel between the suzerain himself and one of his vassals, the vassal might, after first throwing up his fief, challenge his suzerain. In short, owing to that great distinguishing feature of feudalism—the union of magisterial and judicial functions with the rights of property in land—the ultimate solution of all difficulties between suzerain and vassals, or between co-vassals, was an appeal to force.

208. Such were the general features of feudal society properly so called—that is, of the system of proprietorship, according to which the territory of every important European country was laid out, and of the relations between man and man arising out of that system. It is necessary, however, to take into account three ingredients which entered into the constitution of society in every country in Europe at this period, and which, though they existed in combination with feudalism proper, were in

reality hostile to it, and of a nature to insure its gradual destruction. These were *royalty*, the power of the *commons*, and the power of the *clergy*.

209. (1.) *Royalty*.—The relations subsisting in every feudal country between the monarch and the great suzerains, styled Dukes, Counts, Barons, and the like, were at first precisely similar to those subsisting between these suzerains and their vassals; with the exception, perhaps, that the power of these great lords rendered them less constant to their sovereigns than they expected their vassals to be to themselves. The history of almost every country in Europe during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, is one continued narrative of wars between the sovereign and refractory nobles, unruly potentates against each other. The wars between England and France, which began in the thirteenth century, are the first example of really *national* wars—that is, of wars between two distinct nations, each united under one banner. Till then, there had only been what we should now call civil wars—that is, they were carried on between different parts of the same national population. Indeed, the idea of nationality—of the identity, for example, of all the inhabitants of France as forming the French nation, or of all the inhabitants of England as forming the English nation—only came into being about this time. The persons most likely, from their position, to be inspired in every country with this idea, were the sovereigns; and, accordingly, the first steps in the progress of every nation out of feudal barbarism almost coincide with the gradual development in each of the principle of royalty. In every country, the sovereign, if he were a man either of ambition or of good intentions, naturally aspired to be something more than the mere head of a system of fiefs: he looked at the nation as a whole, and tried to pierce down through the intermediate ranks of barons, counts, &c., to the heart of the subject-population in all parts of his territory. Hence, in every country there was an unceasing war by the monarchs on the feudal privileges of the great lords, an unceasing tendency to establish a direct communication between the crown and

the people at large, and to set up royalty as something more sacred and mysterious than mere suzerainship. As the great feudal lords had their courts where their vassals attended, so the sovereigns had their parliaments or royal councils where these chiefs were convened, to consult on affairs, or to decide cases of common interest. Now, one of the means by which royalty advanced itself, was by altering the original constitution of these parliaments, by the admission of men of note distinct from the great feudal lords, and also by making them more and more *legislative* bodies—that is, sources of general laws to be put in force over the whole kingdom. Thus, the throne in every country became the fountain of *law*, of authority distinct from the mere feudal obligation, which prevailed everywhere. Generally, laws emanated from the parliaments; but in many cases the kings issued decrees and ordinances in their own name. Many such ordinances, regulating the general affairs of the nation, were issued by St Louis of France. This monarch did much to establish a more regular judicial system over his country than that which feudalism provided. Already in almost all the great fiefs a step in the same direction had been taken, by the appointment of distinct officers, called provosts, bailiffs, and seneschals, whose business it was to relieve the lord as much as possible of his judicial duties as head of the fief. In a similar manner, the kings of the various feudal countries delegated their judicial power to judges, either general or local, representing them. Thus, in every country, *law* began to be recognised as something distinct from the mere will or discretion of the feudal chiefs for the time being—something traditional and independent, and pervading the whole nation—each decree of the central authority going to swell its bulk. It is difficult accurately to trace this gradual development in every country of the power of the central authority, and consequently of law; suffice it to say, that step by step in every country the process went on, and that before the close of the thirteenth century, the people of every country had learned to look up through the mere net-work of feudal relations to the king and his courts, as forming a kind of national institution

placed over all the fiefs, and sending its influence down through them.

210. (2.) *The Commons.*—Besides the development of the principle of royalty, and with it of national unity, the period of European society with which we are now concerned, witnessed the rise and the first steps in the progress of another principle of immense importance in medieval history, and equally antagonistic to feudalism—the principle of municipality, or free civic corporations. As we have already seen (§ 6), there were municipalities in the old Roman Empire, which, indeed, has been aptly described as a great aggregate of such institutions. It was in the towns of the Roman Empire that all the principal men and their families, all the rich proprietors and men of official note, were congregated, the country parts of the provinces, which formed the estates of these men, being inhabited chiefly by the coloni and the slaves. Now, in each town the management of affairs, subject to the general authority of the Empire, was in the hands of a certain number, generally from 100 to 200 of the most wealthy men, who were called Curiales or Municipals, and who elected the magistrates, administered the revenues, &c., and bequeathed the same privileges to their families. During the later times of the Empire, as we have seen, these municipalities decayed; men sought to escape the burdens which devolved on the curiales; and it was only by forcible recruiting from the richer of the non-curial families that the municipal aristocracies preserved their existence. These municipalities, and the townships connected with them, sustained a further shock from the Germanic invasions. Many townships perished before the inroads of the barbaric conquerors. On the whole, however, the towns were the parts of the Roman Empire which stood the shock of the invasions best. The Roman population flocked into the larger towns, to be safe from the barbarian leaders, who settled by preference in the country, where they built their castles; and thus it was in the towns that old Roman forms and institutions survived in greatest strength. Accordingly, after the chaos caused by the Germanic invasions began to subside, there appeared

everywhere, but especially in Italy and in Southern France, a number of towns with regular municipal governments, forming, as it were, little republics or self-governing communities in the midst of the feudal society which overspread Europe. The names of many such Italian towns have already been mentioned. In France, the most remarkable of such towns were Bourges, Marseilles, Arles, Toulouse, Narbonne, Metz, Paris, Reims, &c. In short, in almost all the countries of Southern and Western Europe, there are towns still existing which trace their history back into the times of the Roman Empire.

211. But this was not all. Not only did towns and civic corporations, invested with certain traditionary rights, survive from the times of the Roman Empire, but feudalism gradually created similar communities for itself. Wherever the castle of a very powerful feudal chief was situated, there, in the tumultuous condition of things which prevailed in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, people were sure to congregate in large numbers; a little trade sprang up; houses were built on a somewhat extensive scale; and there was formed the nucleus of a bustling community. Any great lord, on whose property such a concentration of population took place, found it advantageous to him, both in respect of wealth and of influence; and hence it became an object with him to do all he could to foster and augment it. One way of doing so was to grant it certain privileges; to relax, as it were, his feudal authority over it; and to allow to its inhabitants certain rights and immunities, which raised them above the position of mere coloni. Many feudal lords, including the kings, did so, and even confirmed their concessions by formal charters, specifying the privileges granted to the townsmen; so that at length, even in feudal society itself, there arose a distinction between townsmen and rustics. In very few cases, however, did the charters thus granted by feudal lords to the little towns on their property guarantee anything approaching to municipal independence, such as was enjoyed by the old Roman towns. The lord was still the feudal superior of the town, governing it by a provost or

other officer appointed by himself; and the charter usually amounted only to a solemn engagement on the part of the lord, that he and his heirs would observe certain customs in the government of the town, and impose only certain dues and taxes. Soon, however, an agency of greater strength came into play, which still further raised the importance of towns thus formed. This was the will and determination of the townships themselves. Once formed, once invested with certain rights and privileges, the townships were inspired with a natural disposition not only to keep and defend them, but also to extend them. If a feudal lord tried to prove false to his engagements, or to those of his ancestors—or if he persisted in refusing some increase of privileges which the townsmen had resolved to obtain—a struggle ensued, in which the townsmen were generally victorious. Thus, by a series of petty insurrections, there sprang up all over Europe what were called *boroughs*—that is, towns possessing regular charters of enfranchisement, empowering them to govern themselves by means of mayors, aldermen, and the like, freely elected by the general body of the burghers or citizens. These boroughs were distinct from *towns* in the more ordinary sense of the word, which were governed by provosts or bailiffs, appointed by the suzerain in whose territory they were situated, and whose liberties depended more upon the good-will of the suzerain.

212. The towns and boroughs of Europe contained an element entirely hostile to feudalism. Living in houses of two or three stories, the lowest of which served as shops—enrolled in guilds and corporations, each with its own government, and its little code of by-laws—accustomed to meet together on stated days for the election of mayors, aldermen, and the like—the burghers of the thirteenth century were quite a different set of beings from their rustic contemporaries. Their condition was one of rude freedom, of boisterous independence. Each borough, in fact, was a little republic, with its petty internal riots and revolutions; and all the boroughs of any one country taken together, formed that social power which we should now call the commonalty of the country. But in the

thirteenth century, there was no such connection between the boroughs as to give to this commonalty a feeling of united existence; each was like a little island, beat against by the general sea of feudalism, and separated by that sea from the others. It was even common for them to possess feudal property, and, through their mayors and common councils, to stand to the country-people round about in the position of a suzerain towards his vassals.

213. Although there were some common features belonging to the towns and boroughs in all the countries of Europe, there were, nevertheless, marked peculiarities distinguishing those of one country from those of another. In Northern Italy, as we have already seen, the towns were so numerous and powerful, as almost entirely to absorb the class of feudal proprietors; and the country ultimately became a congeries of little republics, each consisting of a borough with a circle of surrounding territory. These Italian towns were also among the largest and most splendid in Europe. Thus, not to mention the great maritime cities of Venice and Genoa, the inland city of Milan possessed, in the thirteenth century, a population of 200,000, including all kinds of traders and handicraftsmen, and among them, 600 notaries, 200 physicians, 80 schoolmasters, and 50 copiers of manuscripts. In Southern Italy, France, and Spain, the towns were also of considerable size, and of commercial importance; but, unlike the towns of Northern Italy, they did not constitute separate states, but were involved in the general feudal governments of the kingdoms to which they belonged. In France, more than in most other kingdoms, the towns grew up under the shelter of royalty—the kings of that country having, from a very early time, made the affairs of the towns a subject of legislation. Many French towns, after having possessed charters of enfranchisement, found it advantageous to surrender these charters to the king, and place themselves under officers appointed by him; and to this circumstance may be traced the spirit of centralisation, as distinct from local government, which still prevails in France. In

England and in Germany, on the other hand, the municipal system prevailed, so that these countries presented the best specimens of boroughs, properly so called. Among the most important of the early English boroughs were London, York, Winchester, Canterbury, Chester, Stamford, and Lincoln. In Germany, there were a vast number of towns, some depending on the dukes, counts, and other feudatories of the empire, and others directly on the empire itself. These last were named Imperial Cities. They were originally governed, for the most part, by their resident bishops; but ultimately, by that general process of insurrection which converted the towns into boroughs, they acquired charters of self-government, and independent civil magistracies.

214. The towns of Southern Europe, supported as they were by the commerce of the Mediterranean, were for a long time scenes of far greater activity and bustle than the towns of the north, which were, for the most part, mere aggregations of handicraftsmen and small local traders. As late as the close of the thirteenth century, the population of London did not exceed 25,000 or 30,000; while that of Paris was not much more numerous. That which first raised the importance of the northern towns was the woollen trade, which began in the tenth or eleventh century. The raw material of this trade was supplied by Great Britain, then the most famous country in the world for its breeds of sheep; but the seat of the manufacture was Flanders, where several towns, such as Ghent and Bruges, were entirely supported by it. In the thirteenth century, it was a saying that all the world was clothed with English wool, wrought into cloth by Flemish weavers. By this trade and its accessories, a busy reciprocal commerce was established, embracing such towns and seaports as London, Cologne, Ghent, Bruges, Lubeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Riga, Dantzic, &c.; and it was in consequence of this trade, and in order to protect its interests, that the famous Hanseatic League was formed. This league, which embraced upwards of eighty towns in the northern part of Europe, was formed gradually between 1241 and 1280; and the administration of its affairs was intrusted

to the four cities of Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic.

215. The new social power, which was pent up in the towns and boroughs, acted at first only indirectly on the political constitution of the various states of Europe. In Northern Italy, indeed, the towns were themselves the political bodies, each town-council being the governing power of the little republic, of which the town was the centre; and the chief burghers, whether merchants or landed proprietors, being also the heads of the state. In other countries, however, where the towns were only so many centres of population scattered over the surface of extensive states and kingdoms, their influence was more confined; and the rude spirit of freedom which prevailed within their walls, was not communicated to the general government except very imperfectly. One means by which the influence of the boroughs was felt, even before they were represented in the councils of the nation, was the wealth of some of their members. Often rising from the humblest circumstances to the condition of wealthy merchants, the plebeian inhabitants of towns were able, by means of their purses, to control the actions of the kings and nobles, who despised them. When a king wanted to go to war, or a great noble wished to equip a band of men-at-arms, part of the necessary funds was often supplied by some rich goldsmith, tanner, or weaver, the mayor or alderman of his native town, who made a profit by the transaction. Jews at this time were the chief money-lenders, making up for the miseries to which they were exposed on account of their religion, and for the rapacity with which they were plundered, by the heavy rates of interest which they charged. But native merchants also lent money; and, indeed, banking, which first sprang up in the Lombard cities of Italy, became a recognised profession, pursued sometimes by itself, sometimes in association with other trades, in all the important commercial towns of Europe. Again, the towns and boroughs exercised an influence by training up a class of men officially versed in matters of civil business. This was particularly the case in France,

where the provosts, bailiffs, seneschals, &c., of towns, being usually appointed by the crown, came to form a kind of official caste, from which the general government derived its functionaries. In England and Germany, on the other hand, where the mayors and aldermen were elected by the boroughs themselves, the relations of these civic officials with the general government were not so close. But even there the towns in the end were admitted to a share in the politics of the state. Thus, in England, within 150 years after the Norman Conquest, it became customary to summon representatives of the greater boroughs to the parliaments or state-councils of the kings; and when the constitution of the German Empire was complete, representatives of ninety-five imperial cities formed a separate body in the German diet.

216. (3.) *The Clergy.*—Our notion of the composition of feudal society would be very incomplete without a special mention of the clergy, as forming a third element, distinct from either royalty or commonalty, existing in the heart of feudalism. It is difficult to say what numerical proportion the clergy in every country held to the rest of the population; but it is probable that—counting both the secular clergy of all ranks, from the bishops and archbishops down to the parish priests, and the regular or monastic clergy of all ranks, from the abbots to the humblest monks—every twentieth man in the thirteenth century belonged to the clerical order. The proportion of the property in every country which was in the hands of the clergy, was still greater. In England, the clergy held *one-half* of the entire landed property of the kingdom; and other countries exceeded England in this respect. This enormous accumulation of property in the hands of the church, was the result of the dotations and bequests of many ages, and of the purchases which the wealth thus derived had enabled the church to make. But, however acquired, this immense wealth of the church, adding as it did to its intellectual and moral influence, made it a tremendous social power.

217. Of the constitution of the church within itself, we have already given an idea: it is only necessary to

glance at the nature of its relations to society at large. And, in the first place, it is to be borne in mind that, through its temporal possessions, the church was itself bound up with feudalism. Bishops and abbots were, on the one hand, vassals of the sovereign, and, on the other, feudal lords in their turn to those to whom the lands of their bishoprics and abbacies were let out on feudal tenure. They even maintained retinues of armed men, and in other respects performed all the functions of lay-barons. But, over and above this feudal power which the church, through her higher dignitaries, exercised in common with the more powerful of the laity, she had a power peculiar to herself. It was the church that baptised men, that married them, that prescribed penance and granted absolution, that consecrated the graves in which men were to lie, and conducted the ceremonial of their burial. Men encountered the church in every moment of their lives: no action, public or private, was performed without the presence and sanction of the church; to be excommunicated by the church, was to be an outcast from all society; to die without leaving something to the church, was esteemed a species of suicide. Everywhere the church was represented: in every group of laymen, one or more priests were seen; in a group of courtiers, a bishop or abbot; in a group of peasants or mechanics, a monk or parish priest. The influence thus exerted by sacerdotal upon lay society was, however, rather moral than intellectual; for those provisions for education which the church possessed, were intended almost exclusively for the training of her own members, and not for the instruction of the people at large. The moral superintendence of the people, rather than their intellectual culture, was what the church aimed at; and in order to enjoy such means of education as the church afforded, it was necessary to enter it. In this fact consisted a distinct source of influence to persons of the clerical order. As many of the more important social functions, such as those of judges, chancellors, and the like, required a knowledge of reading and writing; and as this knowledge was peculiar, or all but peculiar, to the

clergy, numerous offices of state, now regarded as civil or legal, were necessarily filled by ecclesiastics; and so far as statecraft was a profession, ecclesiastics monopolised it. One good which attended this was, that as it was only in the church that persons of humble parentage could rise to the highest ranks by their talent and virtue, the way was open through it to the exercise of direct political influence by men sprung from the people. And so, also, when the ecclesiastical order came to be represented in the legislative bodies or parliaments, some at least of the men who, as bishops, were most active in devising laws and propounding measures of policy, might chance to be sons of ploughmen, or butchers, or smiths.

218. While the great empire of Charlemagne lasted, the church and the state were very nearly co-ordinate powers —the popes of Rome standing at the head of the clergy of Europe, and the emperor at the head of the civil government. After the dissolution of that empire, however, and the division of Europe into separate nations, there was no single civil power that could cope with the papacy. The spiritual power remained one for all Europe, while the temporal power was split up into numerous feudal fragments. The condition of Europe at this time was that of a number of lay aristocracies, pervaded and connected by one clerical theocracy centered in Rome. With the rise of royalty, however, a change occurred. The kings of the various countries sought to reduce the clergy, as well as the lay-nobles of their dominions, to the condition not merely of vassals, owing feudal homage for the estates they held from the crown, but also of *subjects*, in the modern sense of the word—that is, persons obeying the authority of one chief lawgiver and magistrate. Hence, there was a general effort on the part of the kings to break the connection subsisting between the clergies of their respective kingdoms and the Roman papacy. It even seemed likely at one time that this effort would succeed; and that, as Christendom was broken politically into various distinct nations, each with its own royalty, so it would be broken ecclesiastically into a corresponding number of separate national churches—a French Church, an English Church, a Spanish

Church, a German Church, &c.—each church subject only to its own primates, and to the civil royalty of the nation. But this process of the nationalisation of the European clergy, if it may be so called, was arrested by the vigorous conduct of such popes as Gregory VII. and Innocent III. The effect of their labours, and especially of their firmness in the great controversy respecting clerical investitures, was to maintain the connection of the clergy all over Europe with the Roman papacy, and so to preserve the church as a united theocratical organisation, overspreading and interlacing all nations and all royalties. In some countries, indeed, and in none more than in England, royalty still kept up the battle with the popes, and sought to subject the clergy to the same rule as the other classes of its subjects; but, on the whole, the church formed a great independent empire, superimposed upon the temporal kingdoms of the earth. The clergy of each country were a privileged caste, not amenable, except in peculiar cases, to the ordinary laws, but only to the laws as administered by ecclesiastical tribunals; and in every country the eyes of all men were turned to Rome, as the source of an authority superior to any contained within the nation. No one can understand the condition of society in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries without realising the extreme reverence with which men everywhere thought and spoke of Rome and the popes. It was from Rome that excommunications came, shutting up churches, and clothing whole kingdoms with mourning; it was from Rome that dispensations arrived, permitting men to set aside ordinary laws; it was to Rome that appeals were made in all cases of last resort. Rome was the seat of justice, the avenger of crimes, the mistress of kings.

• 219. In the motley society which we have thus attempted to describe, various sentiments and modes of feeling prevailed. In the boroughs, of course, the prevailing sentiments were those of local freedom and commercial enterprise; among the clergy, those of ecclesiastical duty and independence; in the courts of the kings, those of law and official dignity; among the lords and their

retainers, those of reciprocal feudal obligation. There was, however, one sentiment or mode of feeling common to all ranks and classes at the period under notice, and now recognised as almost peculiar to the age of feudalism: this was the so-called sentiment of Chivalry.

220. The nature of Chivalry has been variously represented by various writers. Some have described it as a formal institution or organisation, which sprang up in Europe during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, binding men together by peculiar ties and by understood rights and duties, like freemasonry. But though Chivalry did in the end become a kind of social institution, its origin was not factitious but natural, and not sudden but gradual. It is in the castles of the suzerains that we must seek for its commencement; there, as we have already seen, it was the custom for the sons of the various vassals to form a little court or school, to be educated under the eye of the suzerain, and along with the members of his own family, in military exercises, and in all feudal etiquette. Now, the great object of all these assembled youths—*squires*, as they were called—was to qualify themselves for being admitted, on arriving at manhood, to the full dignity of warriors. The title bestowed on a full-grown warrior was that of *Miles* or *Knight;* the first being a Latin, the second a German word (*knecht*), implying the idea of *military service.* As in old German times, it had been customary to celebrate the admission of a young man to the rank of warrior with certain forms and ceremonies, so this custom was kept up in feudal times; and as admission to knighthood was a most important step in a man's life, it was invested with a religious interest, and surrounded by an imposing ceremonial. The complete ceremonial was as follows:—The young squire who was a candidate for the honours of knighthood, was first put into a bath, as the symbol of purification; and then clothed in a white tunic, as a symbol of innocence; a red robe, as a symbol of willingness to shed blood; and a close black coat, as a symbol of death. He then fasted for four-and-twenty hours, spending the night in a church, sometimes alone, sometimes in the

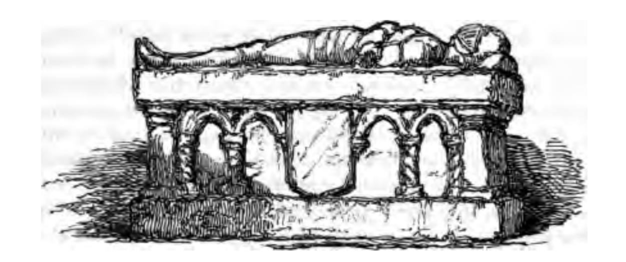
company of priests and friends. Next day, he confessed, received the communion, attended mass, heard a sermon on the duties of knights, and had the sword of knighthood hung round his neck by the priest, after it had been blessed. He then knelt in the church before the suzerain or lord, to whom he promised faithfulness in the discharge of all his duties. The suzerain, assisted by knights, and often by ladies, then armed the young man with spurs, hauberk, cuirass, and gauntlets, last of all putting on his sword; after which the suzerain gave him the *accolade*—that is, struck him thrice on the shoulder with the flat of his sword, saying: 'In the name of God, St Michael, St George, &c., I dub thee knight.' The young man then rose, put on his helmet, went to the door of the church, where his horse awaited him, sprang on his back, and made him prance about, all the while brandishing his sword. Finally, he rode out into the square or courtyard to receive the cheers of the spectators.

221. Thus, from being a simple act of admission to the dignity of warrior, the ceremony of promotion to knighthood became a kind of religious consecration. All that was honourable, loyal, manly, and gentle, came to be associated with the character of a perfect knight. As the church had invested the dignity of knight with all the sacredness that ecclesiastical sanction could confer upon it, so every other portion of society contributed whatever it could to exalt and ennoble the functions connected with it. In an age when rudeness and violence prevailed, and when the amount of law that existed was quite inadequate to the wants of society, it was a beautiful thought to invest the state of knighthood—that state to which every youth of noble birth aspired, and to which, as soon as he reached the age of manhood, he was sure to be called—with the character of a permanent moral compensation for the defects of law, by requiring of all who belonged to it a more exalted disposition, and a higher standard of duty, than was expected in ordinary men. There was, indeed, something in the mere position of a knight to produce in any honourable mind a chivalrous tone of sentiment. Clad from head to foot in armour of iron and bronze, so that

he could ride into the midst of a crowd of peasants and scatter them about without a chance of being hurt, and so trained in all military exercises as to be consciously superior in prowess to all men except those of his own order, it was but natural that this sense of power should be accompanied in the mind of every knight, who was also a good and conscientious man, with a conviction that the power ought to be exercised in the defence of the weak, and the service of the poor and oppressed. And what was at first mere individual feeling soon became matter of rule. Not only were the knights of the same country, as members of a recognised social order, bound to observe such regulations as the order chose to impose, but different countries vied with each other as to which should produce the most perfect specimens of knighthood. Hence, in the course of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, there arose a code of regulations imposed upon knighthood all the world over. Some thirty or forty articles might be collected, to all which it was customary to take oath on being invested with the knightly dignity. Thus, a knight was accustomed to swear that he would 'fear God, fight for the faith, and die a thousand deaths rather than renounce his religion;' that 'he would maintain the just rights of widows, orphans, and such as were unable to defend themselves;' that he would be 'inviolably faithful to his word;' that he would be 'courteous to ladies and maidens, and ready to defend and protect them at the risk of his own life;' that 'having once undertaken an enterprise, he would never shrink back or turn aside from it;' that 'he would be humble;' and that if required to give an account of his adventures, he 'would give a true and exact account, even if it were sometimes to his disadvantage.' There was no virtue, actual or conceivable, which was not in theory associated with the character of a perfect knight; and, however far short the practice may have fallen of the theory, there can be no doubt that some of the noblest characters of the middle ages were nursed by the ideas of Chivalry.

222. But though, in its origin, Chivalry was nothing more than the consecration of physical power to the moral

purposes of the age; and though it may be considered, therefore, to have sprung up spontaneously without any immediate historical incentive, it is yet true that it attained its highest form in connection with those great historical occurrences known as the Crusades. These great events belong, in point of time, to the period which we have already traversed; but as they were an episode of European history in general, rather than a portion of the history of any one country, we have reserved them to be narrated by themselves as a whole.



HISTORY OF THE EAST—THE TURKISH CONQUESTS AND THE CRUSADES.

223. After the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the most civilised portion of the world, Palestine had naturally become a country of peculiar interest to all who had embraced this religion. Pious persons at a distance thought with intense awe of the scenes described by the Evangelists, and many longed to visit them. At length, under the sanction of the church, it became a practice with such as desired to testify their piety, or to obtain the favour of Heaven by special acts of labour and self-denial, to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Jerusalem became a city of churches and monasteries; and there, as well as in other parts of Palestine, all the spots pointed out by tradition as the scenes of the most memorable events in the history of Christ and his disciples, were marked by shrines and chapels, to which the pilgrims resorted. Not only did the Christians of the Greek Empire, to which Palestine politically belonged, make pilgrimages to these holy spots, but the more remote Christians of the West, more especially after Christianity had asserted its power over the Germanic invaders, by converting them to its rule, shewed their zeal by the same custom.

224. The Mohammedan conquest of the East in the seventh century produced a sudden change in the conditions of this customary pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The sacred territory was now no longer a part of Christendom, but was subject to the empire of the caliphs, the heads of a new and hostile religion. Many of the churches of Jerusalem were converted into mosques; and the numerous bodies of monks and priests who resided in the city, as well as the Christian population and the pilgrims who

came from afar, were liable to persecution and insult from the Mohammedan rulers and soldiers. On the whole, however, the caliphs were more tolerant towards their Christian subjects than might have been expected. In return for a certain tribute, the earlier caliphs, notwithstanding their fanaticism, suffered the patriarchate of Jerusalem to remain in existence, and the Christians included within its bounds to enjoy the exercise of their religious privileges. The later caliphs were still more tolerant; and under the celebrated Caliph Haroun al Raschid, the Christians of Palestine were treated with respect and consideration. Accordingly, pilgrims still continued to arrive, both overland through Asia Minor and by sea, from the European ports of the Mediterranean.

225. About the beginning of the tenth century, however, pilgrimage became more precarious. Fully to understand the reason of this, we must resume the history of the East, and especially of the Mohammedan Empire, at the point where we left it off (§ 71)—namely, at the epoch of the division of the Mohammedan world into two parts—the Arabic Empire proper, under the Abbaside caliphs, extending from the Atlantic coast of Africa to the borders of India; and the Moorish caliphate of Spain, under the surviving branch of the Ommiade dynasty (753 A.D.) We have already seen that the second or smaller division speedily fell to pieces before the attacks of the Franks and the native Spaniards. We shall now see that, in consequence of an internal process of decay, the enormous caliphate of Bagdad shared the same fate.

226. For a time, indeed, the Abbaside caliphs of Bagdad exercised a powerful sway. As at once temporal and spiritual sovereigns, their word was law to the multitude of emirs, who acted as their lieutenants from the most remote African province of their empire, on the one hand, to the provinces of Central Asia on the other. Soon, however, it became evident that so vast a mass could not be held together by the authority centralised in Bagdad. The very luxuriousness and refinement of such Abbaside caliphs as Haroun al Raschid and Mamun, disqualified

them for maintaining the rule which the martial fanaticism of their predecessors had founded. While these caliphs were cultivating literature at Bagdad, the emirs of the provinces were surrounding themselves with troops, and aiming at the establishment of independent sovereignties, similar to that which had been founded in Spain. Thus, in the year 788, a Mohammedan sovereignty, independent of the caliphate, was formed in *Fez*, by Edris, a descendant of Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet. Some years later, in the reign of Haroun al Raschid (805), an independent sovereignty was founded in *Kairwan*, a province embracing that part of the northern coast of Africa which had originally been the territory of Carthage. Later still, in the reign of the Caliph Mamun (819), an emir, named Taher, founded an independent state in the Asiatic province of *Khorasan*, which extended itself under his successors. *Egypt* was torn from the caliphate in 868, and became a prey to several dynasties of adventurers. In 874, there sprang up in *Persia* a powerful dynasty, pretending to be descended from the ancient kings of Persia, and calling themselves 'the Samanides.' And, finally, in the vicinity of the metropolis of the empire, in the province of *Shiraz*, there arose a race of conquering emirs, calling themselves 'the Bowides' (932).

227. In vain the caliphs tried to arrest this process of dismemberment, by surrounding their court with Scythian mercenaries, brought to Bagdad from their native region to the east of the Caspian Sea, and by creating, under the title of *Emir al Omra*, or 'Commander of the Commanders,' a supreme military office for the defence of the empire. The process of dissolution still went on, and the Bowides became so powerful in the centre of the empire, as to seize Bagdad, and compel the caliphs to bestow on them the hereditary office of Emir al Omra. Thus nothing remained to the caliphs of Bagdad but their nominal dignity as spiritual heads of the Mohammedan world; practically, they were mere puppets in the hands of the Bowides. The last caliph who exercised in any considerable degree the real powers of the caliphate was Al Radhi (934), the twentieth of the Abbasides. Still,

however, a lingering respect attached to the name of caliph in the eyes of all Mohammedans.

228. One of the results of the state of decrepitude into which the empire of the caliphs had fallen, was the re-extension of the power of the Greek or Byzantine emperors over some of those Asiatic provinces which had originally belonged to them, but had been wrested from them by the prowess of the first Mohammedan conquerors. The main portions, indeed, of their original empire had been irrecoverably lost; so that, from the eighth century, the only territories over which the court of Constantinople could claim unresisted sway, were those lying between the Adriatic Sea, on the one hand, and the Ægean and Black Seas on the other. Asia Minor, however, still remained a kind of debatable ground between the empires of Constantinople and Bagdad; over the western portions of it the Greek emperors never entirely lost their power, and in the reigns of some of the abler emperors whose names have already been mentioned (§ 132), wars were carried on against the Mohammedans, which advanced the Byzantine frontier further eastward. Thus, in the reign of Nicephorus II. (963), Cyprus, Cilicia, and Antioch were wrested from the Mohammedans; and in that of John Tzimisces (976), the authority of the Byzantine court was extended as far as the Euphrates.

229. It is probable that all Western Asia, including Syria and Palestine, would have been about this time restored to Christian rule, but for the appearance of an antagonist on the Mohammedan side more powerful than the waning caliphate of Bagdad. This was the so-called African dynasty of the *Fatimites* or *Moezzites*. The founder of this dynasty was an African Saracen, Obeid-allah, who, along with the emirs of Fez, claimed descent from Fatimah, the daughter of the Prophet. Commencing his career in 908, this chieftain became master of the Mohammedan states of Fez and Kairwan, which he incorporated into one African kingdom, the capital of which was Mahadiah. His successors extended the kingdom thus formed by subduing Sicily and parts of Italy, which were then still a prey to the Mohammedans; and

the fourth of them, Al Moez, conquered Egypt, and built Cairo (960), which became the capital of his dominions. These dominions, comprehending the whole coast of Africa, were so extensive, that the Fatimite rulers took to themselves the name of Caliphs. They conquered Palestine in 969, and contested the possession of Syria with the Byzantine emperors.

230. Such was the state of the East in the tenth century; divided, as it were, between three great powers, with the Euphrates as their common frontier and point of junction—the Greek Empire, already master of Asia Minor, and contending for Syria; the empire of the Fatimite caliphs of Cairo, comprehending Northern Africa, Egypt, and Palestine; and the decrepit caliphate of Bagdad, stretching from the Euphrates into Central Asia, and administered, so far as any general administration was possible, by the Bowides, as Emirs al Omra, and nominal viziers of the caliphs. These three empires were contending with each other, when a new power, destined to overcome them all, was hurled into the midst of the Oriental world. This was the power of the TURKS.

231. The native region of the Turks, properly so called, was that portion of the Scythia of the ancients lying to the east of the Caspian Sea, which is now named Independent Tatary. Inhabited by a great number of tribes having special names, but owning the general appellation of Turks, this region had from time immemorial sent forth fierce hordes of cattle-rearers and horse-breeders to harass the nations in their vicinity. Most of these hordes had been dispersed and absorbed into the populations on whose territories they encroached—the Slavonians of Russia, for example, receiving large infusions of them; but one horde—that of the Magyars or Hungarians—had, as we have seen, succeeded in keeping itself together, and establishing a new nationality in Eastern Europe. When the Mohammedan power obtained the mastery of the East, the native region of the Turks was not too remote to be visited by the conquering Mohammedan armies. Tatary became the northern skirt of the empire of the caliphs, and the religion of the Koran was embraced by

many of the Turkish tribes. From these tribes, thus combining their native Scythian ferocity with the fanaticism of new converts, the caliphs drew their best soldiers; and in the ninth and tenth centuries, Turkish mercenaries from the banks of the Caspian were to be found serving in Bagdad and other cities, as body-guards of the caliphs and the provincial emirs. Thus introduced into the heart of the caliphate as servants, the Turks soon found that they could become its masters. In various Asiatic provinces of the caliphate, the Turkish captains were virtually the princes. The first Turk, however, who appeared ostensibly as a conqueror, was Sebectagi, originally a slave of one of the lieutenants of the Samanide princes of Persia. After various adventures, Sebectagi became an independent military chief (961); took the town of Ghuznee in the east of Persia; and putting an end to the dynasty of the Samanides in that part of Asia, founded the Turkish dynasty of the *Ghuznevides*, or Sultans of Ghuznee. His son Mahmoud, who succeeded him in 997, occupies one of the most important places in the history of the East. He was a man of great abilities, and an enthusiastic Mohammedan, who made it the object of his life to diffuse the religion of the Prophet into regions which it had not yet penetrated. Reducing Lahore, Mooltan, and Guzerat, he carried his victorious arms far into Hindostan (1000), leading the way to that Mohammedan conquest which, prior to the British conquest, was the only cardinal fact in the modern history of India. The details of the Indian conquests of the great sultan of Ghuznee belong, however, more especially to Indian history; and need not detain us here.

232. It seemed at one time likely that the Ghuznevides, besides displaying their prowess against India, would supplant the Bowides in the western part of Persia, become masters of Bagdad, and reconstruct the caliphate. This career, however, was reserved for another race of Turks, known as the *Seljuk Turks*. The founder of this race or dynasty was Seljuk, one of those numerous khans who, during the reign of Mahmoud the Ghuznevide, emigrated from Tatary into Persia, and settled there with their

friends and followers. On the death of Mahmoud in 1028, these Turkish khans became too powerful for his Ghuznevide successor, Massoud; and the family of Seljuk succeeded in detaching Khorasan from the dominions of the sultans of Ghuznee. Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, took the title of Sultan of Niesabur, the capital of Khorasan (1038); and from that moment the Seljuk Turks were masters of the caliphate. Marching against Bagdad, they overthrew the power of the Bowides (1055), and assumed their place as administrators of the empire in the name of the caliphs. Togrul Beg married a daughter of the caliph, who, in return, married a sister of Togrul Beg; and the title of Emir al Omra was formally conferred on the Seljuk sultans.

233. The career of Eastern conquest, which had been begun by Togrul Beg, was continued by his immediate successors, Alp-Arslan (1063–1073) and Malek-Shah (1073–1092). Besides reconstructing the caliphate of Bagdad by reducing Turkistan, Western Persia, Armenia, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, Alp-Arslan carried on a vigorous warfare against the Greek Empire, from which he wrested not only what remained to it in Syria, but also the greater part of Asia Minor, called by the Turks 'Roum'—that is, the country of the Romans. From the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt he also wrested Palestine (1070), though not so successfully but that the Fatimites tried to recover it. These conquests were confirmed and increased by Malek-Shah, an able and even cultivated prince, in whose reign the empire of the Seljuks virtually extended from the Ægean and the Levant to the confines of China. On this sultan there was conferred the honorary title of 'Commander of the Faithful,' which had hitherto been borne only by the caliphs themselves. On his death (1092), the empire of the Seljuks fell asunder, different dynasties of the Seljuk stock establishing themselves in different parts of it. Of these, the most powerful were the sultans of Iran, who were masters of Upper Asia, and the sultans of Roum, who retained all the Turkish conquests in Asia Minor, and continued the wars against the Greeks on the one hand, and the Fatimite caliphs of

Egypt on the other. The first sultan of Roum was Soliman, called also Kilidge Arslan, the great-grandson of Seljuk. After securing his power by his own military activity, he established his head-quarters at Nice, in Bithynia, within one hundred miles of Constantinople. He was unable, however, to retain Palestine, which again (1096) passed into the hands of the Fatimites of Egypt.

234. In the midst of these wars and revolutions with which the East was distracted, Palestine had fared worse than almost any other country. No sooner had the Fatimite caliphs of Cairo become its masters, than the Christian inhabitants found the difference between their rule and that of the mild Abbaside caliphs of Bagdad. But even the cruelties of the Fatimite caliphs were insignificant, compared with those which had to be endured when Palestine came into the hands of the Turks. Full of ferocious zeal for the religion to which they were but recent converts, the Turks delighted in persecuting the Christians of Palestine, whether residents or pilgrims, and in committing outrages on the shrines and holy places which the Christians frequented. The pilgrims were slain, robbed, or beaten; and it was only avarice that prevented the Turks from destroying the Holy Sepulchre, and extirpating the patriarchate of Jerusalem. As it was, they made the exercise of the Christian religion, and the visits of pilgrims to the Holy City, a source of revenue, by charging residents and pilgrims with heavy taxes. Many poor pilgrims perished at the gates of Jerusalem, without having had the consolation of being admitted to see before they died the holy spots, to visit which had been the sole end of their toilsome journey.

235. The news of the cruelties perpetrated by the Turks on the Christians of Palestine, produced a deep feeling of indignation among the Christian nations of the West. Why should not the Christian nations combine, precipitate themselves on the East, arrest the progress of the hated religion of Mohammed, and at least recover into the bosom of Christendom that land which, more *than all others*, ought to be sacred and safe from the touch

of the infidel? Reasons of policy tended to strengthen in the minds of potentates this vague popular aspiration. The Byzantine emperors, in particular, the very existence of whose empire was menaced by the Turks, had no hope of being able to resist them, except with the assistance of the West. Accordingly, in the year 1073, the Greek Emperor Michael VII. sent an embassy to Pope Gregory VII., imploring his assistance and that of the Latin Church against the Turks. The scheme of an armed interference of the Western nations in the affairs of the East, was one quite in accordance with the character of Gregory. His great mind exulted in the prospect of an enterprise which, if properly carried out, would help to accomplish at once two objects which lay near to his heart—the reunion of the Latin and Greek Churches by the subordination of the latter to the papacy; and the triumph of Christianity in regions long held by the infidel: he, therefore, responded favourably to the request of the Greek emperor. Circumstances, however, prevented him from carrying his design into effect: the Turks still advanced; and by the year 1081, when the astute Alexius Comnenus ascended the Byzantine throne, only a few strips of the western coast of Asia Minor remained in the possession of the Greeks, while the Turks threatened to cross into Europe, and attack Constantinople itself. Again and again Alexius implored the potentates of the West to come to his aid.

236. What the Western princes were vaguely meditating, and the Greek emperors were so eagerly desiring, the enthusiasm of a single monk brought to an issue. Among those who undertook the pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the very time when the danger was greatest, was an old monk named Peter, a native of Amiens, in France. He had served as a soldier in his youth; but after he had become a monk, he distinguished himself by the seclusion and asceticism of his life, so as to obtain the name of Peter the Hermit. Having resolved on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as an atonement for some sin of his youth, he accomplished the weary journey, reached Jerusalem, saw the holy places, and became a witness of the cruelties

perpetrated by the Turks. His spirit burned within him as he walked amid the scenes where Christ and his disciples had once walked before him, and where heathens now mocked and insulted the pious. He conversed on the subject with such Latin Christians as he found in Jerusalem, and also with Simeon, the devout Greek patriarch of the city, in whom, notwithstanding minor differences of faith, Peter found a congenial spirit. Simeon assured Peter that there was no hope that the Greek emperors would undertake any enterprise for the deliverance of Palestine; and it was agreed between them, that it was only by a league of the Latin princes, with the pope at their head, that the holy lands of the East could be rescued from the dominion of the Turks and Saracens. The zeal of Peter was inflamed. 'Write,' he said to Simeon, 'to the pope and the Latin Christians; seal the letters with your own seal as patriarch of Jerusalem; give them to me, and, as a penance for my sins, I will travel over Europe, describe everywhere the desolate state of the Holy City, and exhort princes and people to wrest it from the profane hands of the infidels.' The patriarch wrote the letters; and Peter took a passage at Joppa, and set sail for Italy.

237. The reigning pope, Urban II., was favourable to the scheme; but before actually ordering a crusade, he thought it desirable to sound the sentiments of Christendom regarding it. Accordingly, with his sanction, Peter undertook to travel over all Europe, and stir up the hearts of all classes of men for the great enterprise. He went from town to town, and from village to village, preaching everywhere to crowds in the open air; and in less than one year, he had traversed the greater part of Europe. The wild aspect of the preacher, barefooted, bare-armed, and clothed in a long brown mantle, his glittering eye, his unearthly eloquence, the grandeur of his theme, produced everywhere the most extraordinary sensations. Whole villages ran after him; men and women plucked hairs from his mule, and kept them as relics; he was regarded everywhere as a man inspired. It was remarked as wonderful, that a man, diminutive and even mean in

personal appearance, had accomplished a work of European magnitude.

238. Such having been the success of the Hermit's mission, the pope no longer hesitated to announce the Crusade. Two councils on the subject were held in the year 1095—the first at Placentia, in Italy, the second at Clermont, in France. The first was attended by ambassadors from the Greek Emperor Alexius, who again demanded, and were now promised, the aid of the Latin nations against the Turks. At the second, which was held in the month of November, Pope Urban II. addressed a great crowd of ecclesiastics and laymen, gathered from all parts of the world. In this famous sermon, an account of which has been preserved, he openly recommended the Crusade as a great work, which ought to enlist the sympathies of all nations. As he grew warm with his subject, and began to dilate on the glory that would accrue to those who should despise death and brave the difficulties of the enterprise, the pent-up enthusiasm of the crowd found vent in cries of: '*Deus vult, Deus id vult!*'—'God wills, God wills it!' Catching up this cry, the pontiff proceeded: 'Let these very words,' he said, 'be your war-cry. When you attack the enemy, let the words "Deus vult, Deus id vult!" go before you. Let only the able, the young, and the strong, undertake the journey; let the old, the weak, and the infirm, stay at home. Let the rich supply the poor with the necessary means; let the clergy go only with the licence of their bishops; and let no one go without priestly benediction. Finally, let every one wear, as a badge, the sign of the Cross, either on his back or his breast.' The whole multitude here knelt; and when they rose, crosses of red cloth were seen on the shoulders of many a priest and many a warrior.

239. The Crusade thus preached, and thus resolved on, was precisely the enterprise to enlist the sympathies of Europe at the close of the eleventh century. The power of the church, as we have seen, was then at its height; the mail-clad soldier bowed low before the cross, and could be made to tremble in the presence of a feeble priest. This,

too, as we have seen, was the age of rising Chivalry—the age when the love of adventure had become a passion, and when all that was noble and honourable was associated with the idea of military knighthood. Appealing, as it did, to these two feelings, the enterprise which the pope had recommended absorbed the whole soul of the age. No sooner had the Council of Clermont dissolved, than preparations for the Crusade were everywhere begun; the clang of the smith's hammer, making or repairing armour, was heard in every village; and in hundreds of castles the hands of mothers, wives, sisters, and lovers were employed in embroidering the banners which those dear to them were to carry into the holy fields. Even the poor caught the enthusiasm: many sold their little properties at a heavy loss, packed up all they had, and set out, with carts drawn by oxen, in the supposed direction of the Holy Land, the children asking as they came in sight of any town or castle on the road, if that was Jerusalem. The Crusade-fever became epidemic: those who laughed to-day at the folly of their neighbours in assuming the Red Cross, were on the morrow seized with the same frenzy. The fever was at its height in France and Germany; but it was not confined to these countries; Italians, Spaniards, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Danes, and Norwegians, joined the ranks of the Crusaders. Robbers, murderers, and outcasts of all kinds, enlisted themselves in the bands that were going to Jerusalem. By the spring of 1096—the time appointed by the pope for setting out on the expedition—masses of the European population were in motion from all quarters, directing their course towards Asia.

240. No arrangements had been made for the organisation of such multitudes as enlisted in the Crusade, and the greatest confusion necessarily prevailed. The first band that marched to the Holy Land, was a body of 20,000 men on foot, with only eight horsemen, commanded by a Burgundian gentleman, called, on account of his poverty, 'Walter the Penniless.' Next followed a rabble of men, women, and children, of all nations, numbering about 40,000 souls, led by Peter the Hermit in person. After them, at a little

interval of time, came a body of 15,000 Germans, led by a priest named Gottschalk. Finally, a vast army of 200,000, consisting of outcasts and adventurers from all countries, assembled in Northern Germany, and followed in the route opened up by the preceding bands—that, namely, leading through Hungary, Bulgaria, and Thrace, to Asia Minor. The fate of these four bands was terrible. The Hungarians and Bulgarians, through whose territories the Crusaders marched, were indignant at the ravages which they committed, and after harassing them indirectly, openly attacked them. The band of Gottschalk was entirely slaughtered or dispersed on passing through Hungary; and the large army of 200,000, after committing the most dreadful devastations on its way, broke up into fragments, which were severally exterminated by the enraged Hungarian peasantry. Walter the Penniless succeeded in reaching Constantinople, but with so small a wreck of his band, that he had to wait for the coming up of Peter the Hermit before crossing into Asia. When Peter came up, the two joined forces, and the Greek emperor was but too glad to get rid of his crusading visitors by sending them across the Bosporus. Here their behaviour was such, that the Hermit left them in disgust, and returned to Constantinople. Walter the Penniless, and the bravest of his companions, died fighting near Nice, in Bithynia, the capital of the Turkish kingdom of Roum. The rest roamed about over Bithynia for a time as mere marauders, and were ultimately cut to pieces by the Turks, with the exception of a few, whom, at the solicitation of the Hermit, the Greek emperor saved and sent home.

241. Such was the disastrous beginning of the Crusade—a quarter of a million of individuals swept out of existence, without the accomplishment of a single important result. These, however, were poor creatures, who had been hurried on by a mere mania, and who had set out without forethought or preparation, anxious only to be the first to reach the Holy Land. Meanwhile the real Chivalry of Europe had been mustering for the enterprise—the feudal chiefs of the various lands, each at the head of his own vassals, after the custom of feudal warfare. The chiefs

again formed leagues and associations among themselves, so as to give a common organisation to the whole expedition. The knights of various countries, if not attached by vassalage to any of the crusading chiefs, selected the chief under whose banner they would fight. Thus, in all, six crusading armies were formed, which marched separately, in the order in which they were organised. The first army, which set out in August 1096, was led by Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, one of the most celebrated knights and warriors of the age, and who had sold his property in order to raise money for the Crusade. The second army was led by Hugh, Count de Vermandois, brother of Philip I. of France. The third army was under the leadership of Count Stephen of Blois, and Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror, and brother of William Rufus. In this army were many English nobles and knights. Next came Count Robert of Flanders at the head of a separate army. The fifth army was led by the crafty, ambitious, and enterprising Norman Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, and son of the famous Guiscard; second in command to whom was the young Tancred, the flower of chivalry, and the favourite hero of the Crusade. The last army consisted of the chivalry of Provence, Gascony, and Auvergne, led by the haughty Count Raymond of Toulouse. To give even a list of the famous knights who served in these various armies is impossible.

242. The Crusade was now fairly afoot; a body of at least 600,000 men, exclusive of women, priests, and children, was on its way to Constantinople, some by one route, some by another. Constantinople was to be the rendezvous of this vast force. Suddenly, opposition was offered from the quarter from which it was least to be expected. Though the Greek emperor, Alexius, had petitioned again and again for the assistance of the Chivalry of the West against the Turks, he had not expected *such* assistance as was now offered him. Should these Latin princes defeat the Turks, might they not be disposed to assure to *themselves*, and not to *him*, the mastery of the East? He recoiled before the prospect of such a danger, and threw all obstacles in the way of the Crusaders,

demanding, among other things, that each crusading chief should do him feudal homage before passing through his dominions. The Crusaders were obliged to have recourse to arms, and even threatened to attack Constantinople. At last, however, a formal treaty was concluded; Alexius feasted the Crusaders for several days in his capital; and band after band crossed the Hellespont. Alexius did not accompany the Crusaders, but stayed at home, ready to reap the advantages which might result from their labours.

243. In May 1097, the Crusaders held their first muster in the plains of Bithynia. It was a spectacle such as the world has rarely seen—a moving nation of nearly a million of souls, in which all languages were spoken, and all costumes worn. There was the fair-haired northern, with his blue eyes and sanguine complexion; there the dark-visaged southern, with his flashing glance; there was the knight in his armour, the priest in his robes, the foot-soldier in his leathern jerkin, the serf with his belt of rope. There were pawing horses, carts full of provisions, groups of women, and crowds of children. Under the bright sun of Asia all was gaudy and brilliant. Spears glittered; breastplates and helmets gleamed; pennons and flags of various colours, and with various devices, waved in all parts of the encampment; and everywhere—alike on shield, helmet, flag, and coat-of-mail—was blazoned the sign of the Red Cross. Walking amid all this confusion, sometimes alone, and sometimes in company with Godfrey of Bouillon, or some other of the leaders, might be seen the spare and haggard figure of Peter the Hermit. He had crossed once more into Asia with the army of Godfrey; and now, as he looked around, he could see in the hundreds of thousands of human beings who filled the encampment, the monster result of that grief and rage of soul which he had felt but a few months before as he crept along the streets of Jerusalem, and saw its holy places in possession of the infidel. His revenge was near! He, a poor and feeble monk, was about to hurl a thunderbolt against the power of the Moslem; these myriads of enthusiasts whom he had brought from their homes, were to be the implements of his purpose, to be dashed by him

against the walls of Jerusalem. On, on, then, to the Holy City!

244. The Holy City was yet distant. Before the Crusaders could reach it, they had to fight their way through Asia Minor, and along the coast of the Levant, opposed at every step by the hosts of Soliman or Kilidge Arslan, the Turkish sultan of Roum. Their first important achievement against this potentate was the siege and capture (June 1097) of his capital, Nice. This, followed as it was by a great victory over Soliman, gained at Dory-leum, decided the fate of Asia Minor. Greatly reduced in numbers, the different crusading armies at length turned the north-eastern angle of the Levant, and directed their march towards Palestine. Antioch, the capital of Syria, lay in their way. Seven months were consumed in the siege of this strongly fortified city—months of dreadful suffering to the Crusaders, thousands of whom perished before the walls, while others deserted, and went back to Europe. Even Peter the Hermit lost heart; he set out on his return home, and Tancred had to send soldiers to bring him back by force. At length (June 1098) Antioch was taken, and the Crusaders forgot their miseries amid the luxury of this wealthy city. Suddenly, however, they were in their turn besieged by an army of 200,000 Mohamme-dans, which had been sent by the caliph and the Persian sultan to the assistance of the sultan of Roum. On the 28th of June, this vast host was defeated before the walls of Antioch, and the way was then open to Jerusalem. It was on a morning in the summer of 1099 that the 40,000 Crusaders—who were all that war, famine, pestilence, and desertion had left out of the 600,000 who, two years before, had crossed from Europe into Asia—first came in sight of the Holy City. The emotion produced by the sight was intense. Some leaped and shouted; some threw them-selves on the earth and kissed it; some gazed and wept; 'all had much ado,' says an old historian, 'to manage so great a gladness.' The siege of Jerusalem began on the 7th of June 1099. The city was obstinately defended for six weeks by a garrison of 40,000 Turks, in the employment of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt, into whose



power Palestine had reverted three years before. A terrible massacre followed the capture of the city. The leaders present at this consummation were Godfrey, Tancred, Raymond of Toulouse, and Robert of Normandy; Hugh de Vermandois and Stephen of Blois had abandoned the enterprise at an earlier period.

245. Such was the First Crusade. The Crusades, however, are usually reckoned as seven in number; the first and greatest beginning in 1096, and the last and least terminating in 1291. In sketching the history of the last six Crusades, therefore, we must trace the general history of the East from the conclusion of the first, onwards for a period of two centuries.

246. The immediate political results of the First Crusade were the restoration of the best part of Asia Minor to the Greek Empire, and the conversion of Syria and a considerable portion of the East into a dominion held by Latin princes, and governed according to the principles of Western feudalism. Three distinct sovereignties were constituted out of the Syrian territories conquered from the Turks and the Egyptian caliphs—the *kingdom of Jerusalem*, conferred on Godfrey of Bouillon, as the chief leader of the Crusade; the *principality of Antioch*, conferred on the Norman leader, Bohemond of Tarentum; and the *principality of Edessa*, in Mesopotamia, conferred on Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey. Such of the Crusaders as resolved to remain in the East, attached themselves to one or other of these princes, receiving lands from them, and yielding them feudal allegiance; while thousands of immigrants and merchants from the various countries of Europe, arrived by sea to partake of the same benefits.

247. During a period of fifty years, the three Latin principalities in the East maintained themselves against the attacks of the surrounding Mohammedans, and even increased their power. Godfrey, the first king of Jerusalem, died after reigning but one year (1100), and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who then transferred the sovereignty of Edessa to another crusading

chief, Baldwin du Bourg, or Baldwin II. Eighteen years later (1118), Baldwin II. was in turn removed to the throne of Jerusalem; the sovereignty of Edessa going to another Crusader, Jocelyn de Courtenay. After the death of Baldwin II. (1131), there reigned in Jerusalem Fulk of Anjou, who was succeeded by his son Baldwin III. (1148). Meanwhile the throne of Antioch, after being held by Bohemond (1098–1109) and Tancred (1109–1112), had been annexed as a dependency to the kingdom of Jerusalem, again dissevered from that kingdom, and again annexed to it. Ultimately, it was claimed by the Greek Emperor John Comnenus, the son of Alexius, to whom it was yielded. Of the three kingdoms, that of Jerusalem was necessarily the strongest; it embraced all Palestine, the Mohammedan inhabitants of which had to pay tribute to the Latin kings. Jerusalem became the capital of an important Christian state. For a time, indeed, the city was the only stronghold of the Crusaders, and the surrounding country was still liable to the inroads of the Turks. The thorough conquest of the rural districts of Palestine was the work chiefly of the two military orders—the Knights Hospitallers of St John, and the Knights Templars. These celebrated orders of Chivalry date their origin from the generation succeeding the First Crusade. The Knights Hospitallers were an order founded by a French Crusader named Raimond Dupuy, who, being elected governor of the rich monastic foundation of the Hospital of St John—founded in Jerusalem in 1048 by some Italian merchants for the relief of pilgrims to the Holy City—conceived the idea of changing what had hitherto been only an ecclesiastical corporation into a military body, bound by certain rules. The Order of the Templars—so called because they had quarters near the Temple—was originally an association of French knights, formed for the purpose of attacking the bands of Mohammedans who roamed over Palestine after the First Crusade, waylaying and murdering the pilgrims. Both orders became famous; and branches, bearing their names, were established in the chief cities of Europe.

248. Fifty years had elapsed, and the first generation of Crusaders had gone to their graves, when events occurred which threatened to destroy their labours, and restore the East to the exclusive possession of the infidel. The power of the Seljuk Turks had indeed passed away; the Seljukian dynasty of Iran perishing with Sangiar, the last Seljukian sultan, in 1117; while the Seljukian kingdom of Roum, or Asia Minor, shorn of its western provinces by the First Crusade, was reduced to a small state, the capital of which was no longer Nice, but the little town of Cogni, or Iconium. The existence of even this insignificant kingdom, the last relic of the great Seljukian Empire, founded by Togrul Beg, Alp-Arslan, and Malek-Shah, was menaced by the Greeks on one side, and the Latins of Palestine on the other. Nor was there any hope of a revival of the Mohammedan cause by the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt. Driven back into Egypt, these degenerate descendants of the Prophet were, like their rivals the caliphs of Bagdad, the slaves of their Turkish viziers. But the Mohammedan East has always been prolific in adventures. When the Seljuks ceased to be masters of the caliphate, the administration fell into the hands of the numerous Attabeks, or 'father-princes,' who had stood to them in the relation of emirs, or governors of provinces. These attabeks were almost all of Turkish extraction, and full of the conquering spirit of their race. One of them, named Zenghi, attabek of Mosul, and already distinguished for his valour, stood forth as the champion of the Mohammedan cause. Advancing against Edessa (1144) at a time when its effeminate prince, the son of the Crusader De Courtenay, was absent, he took the town, slaughtered the Christian inhabitants, and extinguished the principality. On the death of Zenghi (1145), the career of conquest which he had begun was continued by his son Noureddin, a man of extraordinary abilities, and of a character so noble as to draw eulogiums even from his Christian opponents. From being simple emir or attabek of Aleppo, Noureddin in the course of a few years became sultan of a kingdom extending from the Tigris to the Nile. The

Christians of Syria trembled for their safety; and the sultan of Aleppo was hailed by the caliphs of Bagdad as the restorer of the Moslem supremacy.

249. *The Second Crusade.*—The fall of Edessa, and the progress of Noureddin as a conqueror, produced a vehement sensation in Europe. The Chivalry of the West, and especially of France and Germany, were summoned to a Second Crusade. The place which Peter the Hermit had filled in the First Crusade was worthily filled in the second by the famous St Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in France. Commissioned by the ruling pope, Eugenius, this great ecclesiastic travelled over France and Germany, exerting the power of his marvellous eloquence in recruiting the armies of the Cross. These armies were led, moreover, not by chiefs of second rank, but by the two most powerful monarchs of Europe—Louis VII. of France, and Conrad III., emperor of Germany. It is calculated that the forces led into the East by these two princes in 1147, amounted to 1,200,000 men. Yet the crusade was a total failure. The policy of the Greek court was now hostile to the Crusade; and the Greek Emperor Manuel Comnenus, the grandson of Alexius, did everything to ruin the enterprise. Misled by Greek scouts, the army of Conrad was cut to pieces by the Turks near Iconium; that of Louis was wrecked among the defiles of the Pisidian Mountains. The relics of the two armies made their way into Syria, where, in co-operation with the Christian princes of Antioch and Jerusalem, they laid siege to Damascus. The activity of Noureddin, however, baffled all their endeavours; the siege was raised, and in 1149 Conrad and Louis returned to Europe, having lost in two years about a million of men, many of whom were left captive among the Turks.

250. After the Second Crusade, Noureddin was more powerful than ever. He kept up an incessant warfare against the kingdom of Jerusalem, which he would have succeeded in destroying, but for the energetic resistance of Baldwin III. (1148–1162), who took into his pay numerous bands of private adventurers, anxious to serve against the Mohammedans. But it was not only over

the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem that the sultan of Aleppo sought to extend his power; he aimed also at annexing Egypt to his dominions. Circumstances favoured his design. In the year 1163, a Turkish vizier of the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt, being expelled by a combination against his rule, appealed for help to Noureddin, who availed himself of the opportunity, and sent two Curdish officers, Assad-Eddin, and his young nephew Salah-Eddin, into Egypt on a political mission. After various intrigues and revolutions, Assad-Eddin succeeded in taking the viziership of Egypt into his own hands, nominally as the servant of the Fatimite caliphs of Cairo, but in reality as the lieutenant of the sultan of Aleppo. On the death of Assad-Eddin (1169), his nephew, Salah-Eddin, more generally known as Saladin, stepped into his place. Bold, able, and ambitious, the young Curdish chief did not hesitate to take advantage of his position. One of his first acts, on finding himself master of Egypt, was to declare the dynasty of the Fatimite caliphs at an end (1171), and to reannex their dominions to the ancient and orthodox caliphate of Bagdad. This act was virtually, also, a declaration of his own independence of his former master Noureddin, whose death occurred not long after.

251. Saladin was now the star of the East. Master of Egypt, and without a rival among the nominal slaves of the caliphs of Bagdad, he aspired to the presidency of the Mohammedan world. His first enterprise was the recovery of Palestine to Mohammedan rule. The circumstances of the kingdom of Jerusalem at this period, made his success comparatively easy. Baldwin III. had been succeeded by his brother Almeric (1162); Almeric, by his son Baldwin IV., a leper (1173); after whose death the throne was usurped by Guy de Lusignan, contested by various claimants, each supported by a faction among the knights, the clergy, and the people of Jerusalem. Saladin saw the weakness of his adversaries. In the year 1187, he invaded Palestine with a vast army of horse and foot; defeated the Christians in a great battle at Tiberias; took town after town; and at last Jerusalem itself, after a siege of fourteen days.

Saladin on this occasion was more generous than might have been expected: a moderate ransom was fixed for every individual in the population, on the payment of which he was at liberty to remove with his goods to whatever place he chose. To the prisoners of rank, and especially to the Christian ladies, the conduct of Saladin was extremely gracious and courteous, so that it became a remark among the Latins, that Saladin only needed to be a Christian to be a perfect knight. After the capture of Jerusalem, however, the Moslems celebrated their triumph in a way shocking to the feelings of the Christians. A great cross, which had been raised near the Holy Sepulchre, was dragged in contempt through the streets; the bells of the churches were melted down; and the Mosque of Omar was restored to its ancient use as a place of Mohammedan worship, its walls and floor having been first cleansed from the pollutions of Christian occupation by copious washings with the rose-water of Damascus. Thus, after ninety years of alienation, had the Holy City reverted to the possession of the infidel. The title of King of Jerusalem was solemnly abdicated by Guy de Lusignan in favour of the conqueror, who then possessed the whole of Palestine, with the exception of the single city of Tyre, which was gallantly defended by Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat.

252. *The Third Crusade.*—'Ho! Europe, once more to the Crusades!' Such was the cry which arose in the West, when the news was received of the extinction of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The news is said to have caused the death of Pope Urban IV., and the preparations for the Crusade devolved on his successor, Gregory VIII. To meet the expenses of the Crusade, a tax, to the amount of one-tenth of all their property, was levied on all proprietors, including the clergy. The preacher of the Crusade —the man who on this occasion filled the place occupied in the former Crusades by Peter the Hermit and St Bernard —was William, archbishop of Tyre, who had quitted Palestine, in order to represent its wrongs and sufferings to the peoples and princes of the West. The Emperor Frederick I. of Germany, King Philip-Augustus of France,

and King Richard I. of England, immediately announced their intention of leading armies in person into Palestine; and the example of these great monarchs was followed by the lesser potentates of Germany and Italy. The first to take the field was the German emperor. Marching from Ratisbon at the head of a magnificent army, in the spring of 1189, he applied all the energy and ability which had already made the name of Barbarossa famous in the West, to this new enterprise in the East. He fought his way through the dominions of the Greeks, now undisguisedly hostile to the Crusaders; advanced through Asia Minor; and reached the border of Syria. But the world was not allowed to witness the expected struggle between the genius of Saladin and the genius of Barbarossa. The German emperor was cut off by a fever, caught from bathing in the waters of the Orontes, and only a wreck of his army was able to enter Syria. There, in the meantime, the Christians had rallied. An army composed of the relics of that which Saladin had defeated, and led by Guy de Lusignan, assisted by the Knights Hospitallers and the Knights Templars, was laying siege to Acre, a town of such importance that its capture was regarded as almost equivalent to a reconquest of the country. To this army the wreck of Barbarossa's forces was a welcome reinforcement. In vain Saladin attempted to raise the siege, and relieve Acre; numerous battles were fought, but the besieging army held its ground. At this juncture, the French and English monarchs arrived with their fleets; the sandy plains around Acre were filled with the Chivalry of the West, while the inland hills were occupied by the magnificent tents of Saladin and his Moslem myriads. On the 12th of July 1191, after a siege of twenty-three months, Acre surrendered to the Crusaders. But this was the sole result of the Crusade. Rivalries and jealousies sprang up among the Christian leaders, and especially between the kings of France and England; and the progress of the war against Saladin was impeded. At length Philip abandoned the Crusade, and returned to France. The lion-hearted Richard remained, and continued the struggle for some time with various success; but at last he

agreed to a truce with Saladin, the terms of which were on the whole favourable to the Christians, and creditable to the liberality and tolerance of the Mohammedan. He took his departure from the East in October 1192; but being detained on the way as a prisoner of the Austrian Archduke at Vienna, did not reach England till March 1194. His great antagonist, Saladin, between whom and Richard there had been established a mutual admiration and regard, died in 1193.

253. *The Fourth Crusade.*—After the death of Saladin, hostilities were carried on against the Christians of Syria by his successors and descendants, the so-called Ayoubite sultans of Egypt. On the whole, however, the condition of the Christians of the East was at this time prosperous; and accordingly when, in the year 1202, Pope Innocent III., aided by an obscure priest, Fulk of Neuilly, summoned Europe to a new crusade, it was rather because the scheme of a crusade was by this time a permanent constituent of the papal policy, than on account of any very pressing impulse, such as had occasioned the previous Crusades. The chiefs who came forward to lead the Crusade, were principally French and Italian nobles, such as Thiebault Count of Champagne, Simon de Montfort, Boniface Marquis of Montferrat, and Count Baldwin of Flanders. The Venetians supplied a large proportion of the expenses, and empowering their aged and valiant doge, Dandolo, to accompany the Crusade, so as to represent their interests, and turn events to the advantage of the republic.

254. The crusading armament was assembled at Venice, ready to set sail for Palestine, when events occurred which totally altered its destination, and changed the whole character of the so-called Crusade. We have already seen what a double part had been played by the Greek emperors during the former Crusades. Without contributing directly to the success of the First Crusade, which he had been so eager to invoke—nay, though he had done all he could to thwart and impede the Crusaders—the subtle Emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118) had contrived to reap the best fruits of the enterprise. Like a jackal

following the steps of the lion, he had followed in the train of the crusading armies, establishing his power in Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, and wresting province after province of Asia Minor and Armenia from the enfeebled sultans of Roum. It had even been a matter of grief to him to see the Latins in possession of Palestine—the establishment of the Latin power in what had once been a portion of the Greek Empire, appearing to him a greater evil than the possession of the Holy City by the infidel. His policy was continued by his successors—John Comnenus (1118–1143), Manuel I. (1143–1180), Alexius II. (1180–1183), and Isaac Angelus (1183–1195). These emperors differed in character and abilities; but all of them were distinguished by a spirit of intrigue, and a disposition to thwart the Western princes in their efforts to establish a Christian dominion in the East. Thus, Isaac Angelus openly opposed the Emperor Barbarossa when on his way to Asia as leader of the Third Crusade.

255. During the century, therefore, which had elapsed since the First Crusade, there had grown up in the minds of the princes and peoples of the West a feeling of intense dislike towards the Greeks and their emperors. 'These cunning and treacherous Greeks,' they said, 'care nothing at all about the Holy Sepulchre, but only for their own aggrandizement; *we* spend our blood and our treasure in delivering the East from the yoke of the infidel, while *they* sit idle, throw obstacles in our way, and try to turn all to their own benefit.' This feeling was at its height at the time when the Fourth Crusade was fitted out; and it so happened that just at that time an opportunity occurred for bringing it into practical display. In 1195, the Greek Emperor Isaac Angelus was dethroned by a conspiracy; his eyes were put out; and his brother, Alexius III., raised to the purple. The son of the deposed emperor effected his escape into Europe; and arriving at Venice just as the Fourth Crusade was ready, begged the interference of the Venetians and of the Western princes in the affairs of Byzantium. The Venetians, as a commercial people, were pleased with the idea of

establishing Western influence in the Greek Empire; and their doge, Dandolo, exerted himself to persuade his fellow-crusaders to turn their arms in the direction of Constantinople before proceeding to the Holy Land. They were the more easily persuaded to do this, because hopes were held out that their interference might tend to bring about a reconciliation between the Latin and Greek Churches. Accordingly, the so-called Fourth Crusade was properly not a crusade at all, but an armed incursion of the intending Crusaders into the Greek Empire. But, first of all, the Venetians turned the crusading army to their own service nearer home, by employing it in the reduction of Zara, in Dalmatia, which had revolted from Venice, and placed itself under the protection of the king of Hungary. This deflection of the Crusade from its proper course into a war against Christians, provoked the severe censures of the pope, who was also adverse to the proposed interference in Byzantine politics. The Crusaders, however, persisted in the plan they had agreed to, marched upon Constantinople, defeated Alexius III., and restored the blind Isaac Angelus (1203). Tranquillity, however, was of short duration; Isaac and his son were murdered by a relative named Alexius Mourzoufle, who usurped the throne; and a deadly contest arose between the Greeks and the Crusaders. Constantinople was besieged, taken, and given up to fire and pillage; some of the most valuable ancient monuments and works of art which the city contained were ruthlessly destroyed; and the dynasty of the Greek emperors was declared to be at an end (1204). The horrors of this pillage of Constantinople by the Latins, which are described with awful minuteness by the contemporary historians, drew down a severe condemnation from the pontiff Innocent III.

256. Thus had the Fourth Crusade, undertaken for the rescue of Palestine, terminated in a revolution in the condition of the Byzantine Empire. The Crusaders hastened to avail themselves of their conquest. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was elected to the dignity of Emperor *of the East,* one-fourth part of the territories of the

empire accompanying that dignity. The remaining three-fourths were divided among the powers who had taken the chief part in the Crusade—the Venetians taking the greater part, and the French and Italian nobles the rest. Some time was consumed in making these arrangements, and in sharing out the provinces of the empire among the various claimants. Meanwhile the Holy Land remained in the possession of the Mohammedans.

257. *The Fifth and Sixth Crusades.*—An abortive expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land was undertaken in 1217 by Andrew, king of Hungary; and another by John of Brienne, a nobleman who claimed the nominal dignity of King of Jerusalem, by virtue of his descent from Baldwin II. The scene of the Crusade led by John was Egypt, the conquest of this country being viewed as the necessary preliminary to that of the Holy Land. This is usually accounted the Fifth of the Crusades; and that which is recognised as the Sixth, was an expedition undertaken by the great German Emperor Frederick II. of Hohenstauffen, in accordance with a vow taken to the pope in his youth, but the execution of which he had again and again put off. It was a curious thing to see this emperor, who was almost all his life under papal interdict, and who was accused of scepticism and infidelity, at the head of a crusade. But whatever were his motives for undertaking it, his success was in proportion to his abilities. While the popes were launching their denunciations against him, and stirring up revolt in his empire at home, Frederick was making his power felt in the East (1228). The sultan of Egypt, unable to resist such an adversary, was glad to cede Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Rama, and a considerable portion of Palestine, to the Christians; and Frederick entered Jerusalem in triumph, and placed on his own head the crown, which he took from the altar of the Holy Sepulchre. For these services he received but little thanks. He was accused of too great liberality towards the Mohammedans, and of an irreverence towards the holy places, unbecoming in a Crusader; and he was glad at length to shake the dust of the East from off his feet, and return to attend to the

affairs of his own empire, where all had been going wrong during his absence.

258. After the departure of Frederick, the Christians in Palestine enjoyed the fruits of his military prowess and wise policy, living in quiet and prosperity in the cities and territories which Frederick had compelled the sultans of Egypt to cede. This prosperity, however, was suddenly put an end to, by the violent irruption into Syria and Egypt of a new race of conquerors—the Charismian Turks, from the borders of the Caspian (1244). These wild invaders were resisted in vain by the Christians of Palestine, as well as by the sultans of Damascus and Aleppo; they carried all before them, established themselves in Syria, and burned and pillaged Jerusalem, after defeating the Christian forces. The fruit of the Crusades was thus once more lost; and Palestine relapsed into the dominion of the infidel, its immediate masters being still the Ayoubite sultans of Egypt, the descendants of the great Saladin, who had allied themselves with the Charismians.

259. *The Seventh Crusade.*—The deplorable condition into which the Holy Land had thus again fallen, roused the pious soul of no less a person than the famous St Louis, king of France. Rightly considering the conquest of Egypt as essential to the complete recovery of Palestine, he disembarked a splendid army on the Egyptian coast (1249). At first, all seemed to promise success; the Moslems fled, and abandoned to Louis the important city of Damietta, from which he advanced along the Nile towards Cairo. His troops, however, were soon seized with sickness, and the loss of a battle placed him at the mercy of the enemy. Louis himself, and the relics of his army, were made prisoners, and obliged to purchase their freedom for a large ransom, paid to the sultan, Tooran Sha. The generosity of this sultan, in letting his captives off so easily, provoked the rage of his subjects, and especially of the Mamelukes—that is, the Turkish or Tatar slaves, who served as his officers and body-guards. Murdering Tooran Sha, and putting an end to the Ayoubite dynasty of Egypt, the Mamelukes

appointed their own commander, Ibek, to the Egyptian throne (1250). This revolution was the only important consequence of the Seventh Crusade.

260. Although there were one or two subsequent attempts to revive the crusading spirit—and although, twenty years later, Louis himself, nothing daunted by his previous failure, fitted out a new crusade, in leading which he perished at Tunis—yet the crusade just referred to as the *seventh* may also be named the *Last* of the Crusades. It only remains, therefore, to trace the course of affairs in the East, after the removal of the Crusaders had allowed events to flow in their natural course.

261. And, first, as regards the Byzantine Empire. This empire, as we have seen, had been divided among the chiefs of the Fourth Crusade—Constantinople, with a fourth part of the imperial territories, being assigned to a new line of Latin emperors, the founder of which was Baldwin; while the Venetians and the French barons appropriated the remainder, as feudatories of Baldwin and his successors. Thus, the Marquis of Montferrat was established as king of Macedonia or Thessalonica; the Venetians obtained Cyprus, the coasts of Asia Minor, and many of the islands in the Archipelago; and the doge, Dandolo, was rewarded with the sovereignty of Roumania. For a time, it seemed that the Greek Empire would be thoroughly Latinised, by the importation into it of feudal usages and the forms of the Catholic or Western Church. But the conquest of the Greeks by the Latins was by no means complete. Although less bold and energetic than the Latins, the Greeks were far superior to them in culture and refinement, and regarded their yoke with detestation, as that of mere barbarians. Patriot after patriot arose, bent on the expulsion of the Crusaders and the restoration of Greek independence. Theodore Lascaris, son-in-law of the Emperor Alexius III., established himself in Nice, and founded a sovereignty which included Bithynia, Lydia, and part of Phrygia (1206); a similar sovereignty was established by another Greek prince in Pontus, with Trebizond for its capital; and a third included Epirus, Acarnania, Etolia, and part of Thessaly.

The sovereigns of these states all assumed the title of emperor; and as the states became more and more powerful, it was with difficulty that Baldwin and his successors maintained themselves in Constantinople. At last, in the reign of Baldwin II., the fifth of the Latin emperors of Constantinople, Greek independence was completely restored by Michael Palæologus, the descendant of Theodore Lascaris on the throne of Nice. Assisted by the Genoese, he made himself master of Constantinople on the 25th of July 1260; and the Latin Emperor Baldwin was obliged to seek refuge in the West. With this extinction of the Latin Empire by Palæologus, after it had endured fifty-six years, commences a new period of Byzantine history. Fearful of being expelled from the empire by ecclesiastical influence, Palæologus signalised his accession to the Byzantine throne by a formal treaty of union between the Greek and Latin Churches. The treaty, however, did not remain long in force; and the restoration of the Greek rule in the East was virtually, also, the restoration of the supremacy of the Greek Church.

262. Turning now to that portion of the East which the Crusades were more immediately intended to affect—the empire of the Mohammedan caliphs—we find it left by the Crusades in a state of extreme confusion. During the whole period of the Crusades, as we have seen, the caliphate of Bagdad had still existed as nominally the supreme government of the whole Mohammedan world of the East, although in reality the Abbaside caliphs were merely a species of religious pontiffs, and the civil power was exercised everywhere by the Turkish sultans, and other military chiefs, who had made themselves masters of the various countries which once composed the great Abbaside Empire. Contemporaneous with the later Crusades, however, was a series of events which produced a great change in this part of the East, and resulted at last in the abolition of the caliphate.

263. Hitherto the great agents in the dismembering of the Arabic Empire, and in the perturbation of the East generally, had been the Turks or Tatars of Western Asia,

a people of the same stock essentially as the majority of the inhabitants of Europe. About the close of the twelfth century, however, a new power began to appear; more barbarous, more uncouth, and more terrible than even that of the Turks. The region in which this power made its appearance was Central Asia, stretching away from the Caspian, through Thibet and Siberia, to the Chinese shores of the Pacific, and inhabited from time immemorial by hordes of that great Mongolian race which ethnologists distinguish from the Indo-European race on the one hand, and the negroes on the other. More than once, hordes of these Mongols, with their broad, flat, yellow faces, high cheek-bones, and oblique eyes, had advanced from Central Asia towards the confines of western civilisation; and the world was still full of recollections of the Great Mongol conqueror, Attila, whose devastation of Europe at the close of the fourth century preceded, and in part occasioned, the fall of the Roman Empire. For six or seven centuries, however, there had been little intercourse between Mongolian Asia and the Western nations; and all that was known of the regions east from Persia and the lands of the Turks was, that hosts of Mongolian cattle-rearers moved there in search of pasture over vast plains, and that at the extreme east was a great and civilised nation of Mongolian descent and appearance, called the Chinese. It was in these circumstances that the world was startled by hearing of a new Mongol conqueror—the famous Genghis Khan.

264. Born in the year 1163, this famous personage, whose real name was Temudgin, was originally the mere chief of a tribe of Eastern Mongols. Successes in war against the neighbouring Mongolian hordes roused his ambition, and suggested to him the design of uniting all the Mongols under one empire. This design he prosecuted with the most restless activity, and the most ferocious contempt for human life; and at his death, in 1227, he bequeathed to his successor, Octai Khan, an empire stretching from China on the one hand, to the confines of Russia on the other. The Slavonian nations of Eastern Europe, and the Mohammedan nations of the caliphate,

were menaced and harassed by this new Asiatic power. Octai Khan sent several expeditions into Europe, the results of which were, that Russia was completely subjugated by the Mongols (1237), while Hungary, Poland, Silesia, and Moravia, were overrun by them, and Germany itself threatened. Nor did the Mongolian conquest stop here. Octai Khan was succeeded in 1245 by his son, Kublai Khan, under whom the Mongolian Empire attained its largest extent. From his immediate seat of empire in China and Chinese-Tatary, Kublai, who was a man of great abilities, sent forth directions to a host of subordinate khans, for the government of the various portions of his vast empire, as well as for its extension. One of these military subordinates of Kublai, a chief named Hulaku, took Bagdad in the year 1258, after a dreadful slaughter of its inhabitants, and put an end to the caliphate.

265. The extinction of the caliphate of Bagdad in 1258, and the restoration of the Greek Empire by Michael Palæologus in 1260, are important events in the history of the East. From that period, for a century or more, the East is to be considered as divided into three parts—1. The Great Mogul or Mongolian Empire, founded by Genghis Khan, stretching from China to Russia, and consisting of a miscellany of populations governed by pagan khans; 2. The restored Greek or Byzantine Empire, under Palæologus and his successors; and, 3. The Mohammedan nations, bereft of their nominal unity by the extinction of the caliphate of Bagdad, and governed either by Turks tributary to the Mongol conquerors, or by independent Turkish dynasties. Of these dynasties, the most powerful was that of the Mamelukes of Egypt. These bold soldiers, not content with holding the throne of Egypt in their possession, and nominating to it whomsoever they chose, aspired after Syria—the occupation of which they disputed with the Mongols. They succeeded in their attempt; became masters of Syria; and did not cease their exertions till they had rooted out of that country every vestige of Christian colonisation, and expelled the last relics of the Crusades (1291).

PERIOD III.—NATIONAL MONARCHIES.—1300-1517 A.D.

HISTORY OF THE WEST: FORMATION OF MODERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS.

266. The period on which we now enter, is that extending from the close of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth, or, more exactly, from the year 1300 to the year 1517. Before relating the events of this period, let us glance at some of the effects left by the Crusades on the general state of the world.

267. Although, as regarded their immediate object—the recovery of the Holy Land from the dominion of the Mohammedans—the Crusades were a failure, they were not, as they have sometimes been represented, a mere waste of human life and human energy. Originated and carried out by the boldest and most enthusiastic minds of the time, they reacted, in many respects favourably, upon the intellectual condition of the Western nations. By teaching these nations to act in concert for a common object, they served to promote international knowledge, confidence, sympathy, and intercourse. France attained a better knowledge of England, and England knew more of the continental nations. The courteous rivalry which prevailed among the knights from different lands, in their adventures against the Mohammedans, continued to affect the tone of European society after the Crusades were over. The tournaments and mock-combats which came into fashion at this period, and by means of which the returned Crusaders kept up the memory of their exploits, and represented them in a scenic manner to their countrymen, helped to prolong this interchange of chivalrous courtesies between nation and nation. The modern art of heraldry —an art which, though now out of date, was at one time

graceful and useful—grew out of the practice common among the Crusaders, of distinguishing the different bands of the armies of the Cross by certain emblems and war-cries. Greater liberality of sentiment, in matters both of religion and government, was also a natural consequence of enterprises which had familiarised the men of different countries with customs and modes of thinking unlike their own.

268. The Crusades, however, not only promoted intercourse and good feeling among the Western nations—they brought the East and the West once more into close connection. The East was no longer an unknown region, regarded with fear, because unknown: it was a land of romance and adventure, inhabited, it was true, by races whose lineage and civilisation were different from those of the Western or feudal peoples, but containing much to interest and instruct them. The imagination of the poet, and the research of the learned, expatiated with delight over the new fields of fancy and inquiry which the Crusades had opened up; so that in a retrospect of the course of European thought and European literature, the Crusades form a very marked epoch. They are also a marked epoch in the history of commerce, arts, and manufactures. Seized with a bolder spirit of adventure, travellers from the West penetrated into distant parts of the East, and brought back not only more accurate geographical information respecting that part of the world, but also new products and new scientific processes. The mulberry, as food for silk-worms, Turkey-wheat, and the sugar-cane, were brought before the notice of Western agriculturists by the Crusades; new drugs were introduced to the medical practice of Europe by the knowledge acquired of the state of medicine among the Arabs; and it was the same with other arts. The beneficial impulse given to commerce, was shewn by the increased wealth and populousness of almost all the cities in Southern and Northern Europe so situated as to feel the impulse. Venice, Genoa, and other maritime cities, sent more numerous and finer ships into the Mediterranean.

269. Politically, the effect of the Crusades on Western

society consisted in a diminution of the strength of the feudal aristocracy, and an increase in each nation both of the central or sovereign authority, and of the power and consequence of the commons. One of the means by which this result was brought about, was by the breaking up of feudal properties. Hundreds of feudal proprietors were obliged, in order to raise money to equip themselves for the Crusades, to sell their lands either in whole or in part to merchants and others. This transference of property into new hands was favourable to the progress of liberty and civilisation.

270. Among the most important effects of the Crusades, was that on the church, and on its relations to European society. Undertaken in accordance with the views of the church, and urged and encouraged throughout by the papal sanction, the Crusades at first contributed to rivet and extend papal supremacy. In assuming the Cross on their shields and coats-of-mail, the Chivalry of Europe virtually declared itself the servant of the ecclesiastical power, under which Gregory VII. had laboured to reduce kings, potentates, and peoples, all over the world. 'We, the physical force of the world, hereby put ourselves at the disposal of the spiritual authority of the church, for such services as the church may deem expedient:' such was virtually the engagement of the Crusaders. And for a time the church wielded with immense energy the force thus placed at her command. Whatever the church schemed or desired, she had only to call it 'a Crusade,' and knights and warriors flocked to execute it. Thus, in addition to the Crusades properly so called, or the Crusades against the Mohammedans of the East, there were in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries various other enterprises of a minor character, which, because of their subserviency to the designs of the church, or because of their appeal to popular religious feeling, were also dignified with the name of Crusades. There were crusades against the Jews—in other words, organised persecutions of this race by the Christian communities among which they lived; there were crusades against the Moors of Spain; crusades on a

more extensive scale were undertaken by bands of German knights, for the propagation of Christianity and ecclesiastical rule among the still heathen populations of Prussia, Lithuania, and the Baltic coasts; the persecution of the heretical Waldenses and Albigenses by Simon de Montfort and other Catholic chiefs was called a Crusade; and the same name was conferred on the feud which the popes so pertinaciously carried on against the German emperors of the House of Hohenstauffen. At the very time when Frederick II. was leading the Fifth Crusade in the Holy Land—into which enterprise he had been led by an engagement to the pope—the pope was stirring up a crusade against him in Europe, as an enemy to religion and to the church!

271. In the end, however, the Crusades weakened the influence of fanaticism and of the papacy. Intercourse with the Mohammedans diminished, after a while, the feelings of mere detestation and abhorrence with which they had been at first regarded. Richard I. of England contracted a kind of esteem for Saladin, whom he thought a better knight, though a heathen, than many of his fellow-crusaders; and Saladin was not the only Mohammedan whom the Christians learned to admire. A reaction followed the enthusiasm with which the warriors of Europe had at first responded to the calls of the church and her emissaries: the crusading spirit flagged; men began to ask the reasons, and to count the costs; and in the latter half of the thirteenth century, Peter the Hermit himself might have preached a crusade in most parts of Europe, and found but cold audiences. About this time, in fact, as is proved by the institution of the Inquisition in various countries, Europe began to be full of sceptics, who questioned both the doctrines of the Romish Church, and the methods by which she acted upon society. The growth of this spirit of disaffection becomes very manifest during the period upon which we now enter.

272. I. Spain and Portugal.—At the close of the *thirteenth* century, we left (§ 192) the Spanish peninsula

divided into four parts—the three Christian kingdoms of Aragon, Castile, and Portugal; and the Moorish kingdom of Granada. The peninsula continued to be so divided during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and during the greater part of that time, the four kingdoms were occupied almost exclusively in affairs relating to themselves, but possessing little interest for the rest of the world.

273. The kingdom of *Aragon*, to which, as we have seen (§ 190), the crown of Sicily had been added in the reign of Pedro III. (1276), was further increased in subsequent reigns by the conquest of the Balearic Isles and Sardinia; the former being conquered from the Saracens by the efforts of successive kings, and the latter, at the expense of a long war with the Genoese, by James II. (1325). Meanwhile Sicily, though an Aragonese dependency, had been nominally detached from the crown of Aragon after the death of Pedro III., and governed by a separate line of Aragonese princes, descendants of a younger son of Pedro. Ultimately, however, Sicily reverted to the crown of Aragon (1410), by which it was retained. In this year the ancient dynasty of Aragon became extinct, and a new line of kings was called to the throne—one of whom, Alphonso V., surnamed 'the Magnanimous,' conquered the kingdom of Naples (1442) after it had been in possession of the House of Anjou for 170 years. Alphonso died in 1458, leaving Naples to his natural son Ferdinand, and the Aragonese kingdom, including Aragon Proper, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, and Sicily, to his son John II.

274. The most famous reigns in the annals of *Castile* during the period under notice, were those of Alphonso XI. (1312–1340) and Peter IV., surnamed 'the Cruel' (1350–1369). The former distinguished himself greatly by his wars against the Moors, over whom he gained a great victory at Tarifa, and from whom he wrested a considerable portion of their remaining dominions in Spain. The reign of Peter the Cruel was signalised by the first direct interference of the English

in the affairs of the Spanish peninsula. The ferocious rule of Peter—who had hardly begun to reign when he caused his own wife, one of his brothers, and others of his relatives, to be murdered—provoked a rebellion, headed by his natural brother Henry of Trastamara, and assisted by a body of French adventurers under the celebrated Bertrand du Guesclin. Driven from his kingdom, Peter asked and obtained the assistance of Edward the Black Prince, who levied an army, invaded Spain, defeated Henry and the French, and restored the unpopular monarch. No sooner was he restored, however, than he recommenced his cruelties; and when Henry again attacked him, the English left him to his fate. He lost his throne and life in 1369, and Henry succeeded him, bequeathing the crown (1379) to his son John I. For a time the throne of Castile was contested with the House of Trastamara by the English Duke John of Gaunt, who had married a daughter of Peter the Cruel; at length, however, the contest was ended by the marriage of Henry III. of Castile to the daughter of the Duke of Gaunt. Henry III. died in 1406, and was followed on the throne by John II. (1406–1454), and Henry IV., surnamed 'the Weak' (1454–1474). The reign of this last king was a continued series of civil wars. He was deposed by his nobles, who appointed his daughter Isabella to succeed him, setting aside another daughter named Joanna. Isabella, however, refusing to reign while her father was alive, he was restored to the throne. On his death, a contest arose for the succession between Isabella, who had married Ferdinand, son of John II., king of Aragon (1469), and Joanna, who had been betrothed to the king of Portugal. After a war of some years, carried on between the partisans of Isabella, assisted by Aragon, and those of Joanna, assisted by Portugal, the cause of the former triumphed, and Joanna retired into a convent. Scarcely was Isabella thus in possession of the crown of Castile, when her husband, Ferdinand, succeeded by the death of his father to that of Aragon (1479); and thus the two important Spanish Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were united under a common

government—an event of great importance in the history of Spain.

275. In *Portugal*, the line of kings descended from Henry of Burgundy, the founder of the Portuguese sovereignty (§ 192), became extinct in 1383, in the person of Don Ferdinand. This prince having left a natural daughter, married to the king of Castile, the Castilians endeavoured to establish their own dynasty in Portugal, but were prevented from doing so by the prowess of a Portuguese noble, half-brother of the late king, who seized the regency with the consent of the Portuguese, and was elected king under the title of John I., more commonly called John the Bastard. This able ruler founded a new dynasty of kings, who occupied the throne of Portugal for two hundred years. It was one of his successors, Alphonso V., who married Joanna of Castile, and thus involved Portugal in a new war with that country. The most celebrated of his successors, however, was John II. (1481–1495), a man of great capacity for administration, and represented by his admiring contemporaries as a model ruler. He considerably increased the royal authority, by restricting the feudal privileges of the nobles; and his attention to commerce, and to the progress of maritime discovery, led to very important results, highly creditable to Portuguese skill and adventure.

276. Pressed upon by the kings of Aragon, of Castile, and of Portugal, the Moorish kingdom of *Granada* had been gradually reduced to narrower and narrower limits. The Moors of Africa, indeed, frequently crossed the straits to reinforce their Spanish brethren; but again and again the Christian armies were victorious in the fields of Southern Spain, and it became evident that Mohammedanism would soon cease to hold sovereignty in any part of the Spanish soil. There was hardly an Aragonese, or Castilian, or Portuguese king that did not, at some time of his reign, think it a religious duty to strike a blow at the Moors. About the middle of the fifteenth century, the occupant of the Moorish throne was Muley Abul-hassan, in whose reign the Moorish arms obtained

some successes, which provoked more vigorous efforts on the part of the Christian kings. A civil war among the Moors aided these efforts. Muley, anxious to secure the succession to his children by a second and favourite wife, had caused all his other children to be murdered, with the exception of one son, Boabdil, who effected his escape. A party of the Moors rallied round Boabdil, and Muley was driven from the throne. The Christians of Spain saw their opportunity, and availed themselves of it. For ten years (1483-1492), Ferdinand and Isabella carried on a sanguinary war against the Moors; the Chivalry of Aragon and Castile engaged in the war with all the ardour of crusaders; and at length, after a siege of nine months, the city of Granada surrendered, Ferdinand and Isabella entered it in triumph, and Moorish supremacy in Spain was at an end (January 1492). By the articles of capitulation, it was agreed that Boabdil should retire to an estate in the Alpujarras, and that the vanquished Moors should be free either to sell their property and quit Spain, or to remain in the enjoyment of their own laws, customs, and religion, under their own judges, though tributary to the throne of Castile.

277. In this treaty, which was honourable to the conquerors, the Jews, large numbers of whom were intermingled with the Moors, as with the other parts of the population of Spain, were professedly included. It was not long, however, before religious bigotry, envy of the Jews on account of their wealth, and other reasons, induced the government of Ferdinand and Isabella to exempt the Jews from the benefits of the treaty. A decree was passed for the expulsion of all the Jews from Spain, on pain of death, or the abandonment of their religion. Four months were allowed for the execution of this atrocious act of intolerance, which was made more severe by the prohibition to the fugitives to carry either gold, silver, or precious stones away with them. Some hundred thousand Jews—many of them among the wealthiest, most intelligent, and most enterprising of the inhabitants of Spain—were forthwith driven as outcasts over the whole continent of Europe, as well as into Africa; and long

afterwards, these 'Spanish Jews' were recognised in the countries to which they had fled, as the most honourable and enlightened members of the Jewish communities. Such Jews as remained in Spain were obliged to submit to baptism, and otherwise to conform ostensibly to Christian practices; and it is said, that in all subsequent ages, there have been in Spain many families of Jewish lineage openly professing the established religion of the country, but secretly adhering with the utmost tenacity to the religion of their forefathers. It was on account of these proceedings against the Jews, as well as of his conquest of the Moors, that Ferdinand obtained the title of 'the Catholic,' and that he and his queen were regarded by the church as the great supporters of the true Christian faith. But the expulsion of the Jews proved in the end a fatal blow to the prosperity of Spain: the revenues and commerce of the country sustained a shock which was never afterwards repaired; and the subsequent degradation of Spain from the high rank among the nations to which it was raised during the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, is in part to be attributed to that intolerant policy of which the Jews were the first victims, but which, as we shall see, led to a series of persecutions against others, continued for several generations.

278. The close of the fifteenth, and the beginning of the sixteenth century, form the most splendid era in the annals of the Spanish peninsula. Then, for the first time, the peninsula assumed that division into the two states of Spain and Portugal, which has continued to our own times—Spain, the result of the union of the two ancient kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, and the conquest of the Moorish territories by the arms of both; and Portugal, the transmitted sovereignty of a line of princes, who having been established in it in the eleventh century as feudatories of the Castilian kings, had achieved their independence, and maintained it against all attacks. Both kingdoms at this time enjoyed vigorous, and in many respects, salutary government. When John II. of Portugal died, amid the universal regret of his subjects (1495), he was succeeded by his cousin Emanuel (1495-1521),

who made it his aim to imitate the virtues, and carry out the schemes of his predecessor. Under him Portugal became a compact monarchy, governed not as hitherto by the king in conjunction with an aristocratic parliament or cortes, but almost despotically by the king himself. Politically, Spain was in a similar condition. Ferdinand the Catholic, a crafty, avaricious, and ambitious prince, was nominally only king of Aragon, but in reality, as the husband of the mild, wise, and pious Isabella, he governed Castile too. Uniting their talents and their energies, the two sovereigns introduced an unusual degree of firmness and order into the administration of their kingdoms: crime, even in the highest ranks, was severely punished; a system of police was established; the arbitrary power of the nobles was crushed; and strongholds were erected in the most unruly parts of Spain to enforce the laws. Sensible of the benefits of such a government, their Catholic subjects looked forward with fear to the chance that Aragon and Castile might be once more separated. The only son of Ferdinand and Isabella having died, the continued union of the kingdoms depended on the life of their daughter Joanna, who had married Philip, Archduke of Austria. On the death of Isabella (1504), her crown of Castile descended by right to Joanna, whose infant son Charles, or Don Carlos, was styled Prince of Asturias. The death of Joanna's husband, however, so unhinged her mind as to render her incapable of governing; and Ferdinand undertook the regency in her interest and in that of her son. In 1516, Ferdinand died; and Joanna being still in a state of imbecility, the two Spanish crowns of Aragon and Castile devolved together upon his young grandson Charles, then sixteen years of age, and living in Flanders, where, since the death of his father Philip, ten years before, he had been recognised as a prince of the German Empire, and sovereign of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté.

279. The dominions thus bequeathed by Ferdinand the Catholic to his grandson Charles, included certain additions which had been made during the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella to their possessions out of Spain. The

foreign possessions of Spain, at the time when the marriage of these two sovereigns may be considered to have founded the Spanish monarchy, consisted of certain dependencies of the crown of Aragon—namely, the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, and Sicily. Ferdinand, whose policy was throughout one of territorial aggrandisement, had added to these extra-Iberian possessions certain others of great value. It was in his reign, and in the service of him and his queen Isabella, that the Genoese navigator Columbus had discovered, in 1492—the year of the conquest of Granada—the new world of America. This grand discovery, and the transatlantic conquests and colonisations to which it led, form a narrative by themselves too important to be included in the special history of Spain, and which will be given in the sequel; suffice it here to say, that before Ferdinand's death in 1516, the West Indian islands of Hayti, Cuba, and Jamaica had been added to the Spanish crown, and colonised by Spanish settlers. In the eyes of Ferdinand, however, these conquests were probably of less value than a conquest which he unscrupulously effected of a better-known country in the Old World. Since the year 1458, the kingdom of Naples had been in possession of princes of Aragonese descent (see § 273), and therefore kinsmen of Ferdinand. In the earlier portion of Ferdinand's reign, the French king, Charles VIII., tried to eject these princes and re-attach Naples to France. Ferdinand assisted his kinsman and namesake Ferdinand of Naples, and defeated the intentions of the French monarch. Subsequently, however (1501), he made a secret agreement with the French King Louis XII., the successor of Charles, for the seizure of Naples, and its partition between the French and Spanish crowns. The seizure and partition were effected; but five years afterwards (1506), the Spanish general, Gonsalvo de Cor'dova, then captain-general of Sicily, drove the French out of the Neapolitan territory, and annexed it entire to the dominions of his master. The inheritance bequeathed, therefore, by Ferdinand at his death, to his young Austrian grandson Charles, Prince of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté,

was in reality a *Spanish empire*, consisting of all Spain Proper, together with the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, and the Spanish West Indies.

280. II. FRANCE.—That which was not accomplished in Spain till the reign of Ferdinand—namely, the union of the nation into one powerful sovereignty—had been accomplished in France by the Capetian monarchs, and especially by Philip-Augustus, and St Louis, as early as the thirteenth century. The successors of St Louis—Philip III., surnamed 'the Hardy;' and Philip IV., surnamed 'the Fair'—inherited a kingdom compact, well arranged, and accustomed to the rule of royalty. Both these sovereigns did their utmost to preserve the kingdom in this state; and Philip IV., in particular, aggrandised the monarchy by wars against Champagne, Guienne, Flanders, Burgundy, and Brittany (1285–1314). After the death of Philip IV., three of his sons ascended the throne in succession—Louis X., surnamed 'le Hutin' (1314–1316); Philip V., surnamed 'the Long' (1316–1322); and Charles IV., surnamed 'the Fair' (1322–1328). With the last of these monarchs the direct line of the Capetian kings terminated, and the crown passed to a collateral branch.

281. At this period commences that series of wars between France and England which makes so large a figure in the history of both nations. There had been wars between the two countries before, but they were partial and insignificant compared with those which now began. The origin of the contest was a dispute as to the succession after the extinction of the direct Capet line in Charles IV. Two competitors appeared—Edward III. of England, who claimed as the nephew of Charles, through his mother Isabella, Charles's sister; and Philip of Valois, who was cousin-german to Charles. In ordinary circumstances, the claim of the English king, as the nearer in kin, would have undoubtedly been preferable; but the question in this case was complicated by what was called the Salic Law, according to which, it was asserted, females were debarred from the succession. Edward III. admitted this interpretation of the Salic Law, so far as it

regarded females personally; but maintained, that though females could not themselves inherit, they could transmit inheritance to male heirs—in other words, that though his mother Isabella could not herself ascend the French throne, he, as her son, might. The states of France, however, set aside his claim, and decided in favour of Philip of Valois, who took the crown as Philip VI. (1328–1350). Edward III. at first acquiesced in this decision, and even did homage to his rival for his French duchy of Guienne; but in 1337 he revived the dispute, assumed the style and title of King of France, and prepared to assert his claim by force of arms. Availing himself of certain commotions in Flanders and Brittany, he invaded France at the head of a fine army.

282. So rash and hopeless seemed this attempt of the English king to conquer a powerful nation like that of France, that the pope and others remonstrated with him on the subject, and warned him that success was impossible. But the abilities and perseverance of Edward were equal to his ambition. A series of campaigns continued for twenty years, and rendered memorable by three of the most splendid victories of modern times—those of Sluys, Cressy, and Poitiers—made the English all but masters of France. The battle of Sluys was a naval engagement between the English and French fleets on the Flemish coast (1340); the whole French fleet, consisting of 200 ships, was taken by the English with the loss of but two vessels of their own, and upwards of 20,000 Frenchmen are said to have perished. At the battle of Cressy, fought on the 26th of August 1346, 30,000 English, under Edward, defeated 100,000 French under Philip, with an immense slaughter of the French chivalry. A truce of ten years then ensued, England remaining in possession of Calais, and various portions of the French territory, and the French endeavouring to recruit their shattered strength. Meanwhile, Philip of Valois died, and was succeeded by his son John II. (1350–1364), the commencement of whose reign was marked by a meeting of the States-general, or National Parliament of France, at which certain stipulations were made between the Crown and

the Commons—the Commons voting the Crown large supplies, and the Crown in return granting many administrative reforms. In 1356, the war between England and France was renewed; Edward III., and his celebrated son the Black Prince, invading the French territory, and driving all before them. On the 19th of September, in that year, was fought the battle of Poitiers, in which 8000 Englishmen, led by the Black Prince, totally defeated a French army of 60,000—taking the French king and many of his nobles prisoners. The captive monarch was carried over into England; and France, wasted, and all but subjugated, was left under the regency of his son Charles. For four years the country was a prey to anarchy; Paris was a scene of incessant riot; and the rural districts were devastated by insurrections of the peasantry, or *Jacquerie*—so called from the phrase *Jacques Bonhomme*, applied jocularly to the French peasant, as an Englishman is named John Bull—during which 200 castles were burnt and many proprietors of land murdered, and which were only suppressed by the most sanguinary measures of retaliation. Crushed by these misfortunes, the regent and his advisers concluded a peace with Edward III. in the year 1360, called the Peace of Bretigny, the terms of which were all but ruinous to the French monarchy. Guienne, Gascony, Poitou, Saintogne, the Limousin and Angoumois, together with the towns of Ponthieu and Calais, were ceded in full sovereignty to the English; besides which they were to receive 3,000,000 gold crowns, as the ransom of the captive French king. Accordingly, John II. returned to France, and for several years there was peace between the two countries.

283. On the death of John, he was succeeded by his son the regent, as Charles V., called also Charles the Wise (1364–1380). In his reign a reaction commenced. Indignant at the sight of the English flag waving over so large a portion of the fairest lands of France, and stung to the quick with the recollections of Cressy and Poitiers, the son of John resolved to set aside the treaty of Bretigny, and recover what had been lost in his father's unhappy reign. The French nobility and the French

people were eager to support him; and the declining health of Edward III., and of his valiant son, rendered the task easier. Led by the brave Du Guesclin, the French attacked the English; defeated them again and again; and after a few years, all that remained to the English of their conquests in France was the possession of a few important towns, such as Bourdeaux, Bayonne, Calais, Brest, Rochelle, and Cherbourg. In the midst of these reverses, the Black Prince, the hope and pride of England, died at the age of forty-six (1376). His aged father survived him but one year, closing his long reign—one of the most glorious in the annals of England—in the year 1377. The weak and silly character of his successor, Richard II., son of the Black Prince, favoured the efforts of the French to recover their independence.

284. The wars between the two nations were renewed in the reign of Charles VI., the successor of Charles the Wise (1380–1422). This monarch having become insane, a contest arose for the regency between the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of Orleans, and France was plunged once more into confusion and civil war. At no period was the condition of the kingdom more wretched. The Duke of Orleans, who had succeeded in obtaining the regency, was assassinated in the streets of Paris (1407) by the agents of the Duke of Burgundy, who then usurped the government, which he held by the aid of organised bands of followers, called 'Butchers,' who subjected the country to a reign of terror. The Orleanist party, however, still survived, headed by the sons of the murdered duke, and their kinsman the Count of Armagnac; and the terrors of the one party were retaliated by those of the other. In these circumstances, the English king, Henry V., the second in succession after Richard II., did not hesitate to interpose with his armies. Demanding the full execution of the treaty of Bretigny, which was of course refused, he landed in Normandy with 30,000 men; and after various minor successes, which were counterbalanced by the loss of a large proportion of his troops by sickness, astonished the world by the great victory of Agincourt, gained over an army eight times as large

as his own (October 25, 1415). The number of French prisoners taken on this occasion exceeded, it is said, the entire number of the captors. Even the dangers of foreign conquest, however, did not put an end to the civil discords occasioned by the enmity between the Orleanist or Armagnac faction, and that of the Burgundians. For some time after the battle of Agincourt, the Orleanist party, which had been joined by the dauphin, or heir-apparent of the throne, supplanted the Burgundians in the government of the kingdom. The Burgundians, however, whose cause was favoured by the queen, Isabella, had the populace on their side; and a sudden attack putting them in possession of Paris (June 1418), 3000 Armagnacs, including the Count of Armagnac, seven prelates, and many nobles, were murdered in an outbreak of popular fury. The dauphin escaped with difficulty to Poitiers, where he established his court; the Duke of Burgundy and his adherents remained masters of Paris; and the English king was left to pursue his conquests in the north of France, where the city of Rouen fell into his hands. Subsequently, at an interview between the leaders of the two factions, arranged for the purpose of reconciliation, the Duke of Burgundy was assassinated by the attendants of the dauphin. This event, which was attributed to the dauphin, threw the Burgundian party into alliance with the English. By the treaty of Troyes (1420), it was arranged that the English king should marry Catherine, the daughter of Charles VI., and that on the death of that monarch, who was still incapable of governing, he should succeed to the French throne, the dauphin being set aside. Thus virtually invested with the crown, Henry V. prosecuted the war vigorously against the dauphin, whom he drove into the southern provinces. Paris was entered and occupied by the English. All the world was looking forward to the time when the French king's death should put Henry in actual possession of the sovereignty, and so unite the great nations of France and England into one monarchy. The unexpected death of Henry (August 1422) put an end to this prospect.

285. Charles VI., whose long reign of forty-two years

had been so disastrous, survived the English king but two months; and the dauphin was proclaimed king by his adherents at Poitiers, under the title of Charles VII. (1422–1461). But the proclamation seemed at the time little better than a mockery. The patriotic feelings of the people, indeed, were in favour of a native prince; but only a few of the central and southern provinces dared to embrace his cause, the whole country north of the Loire being in possession of the Burgundians and the foreigners. The hero of Agincourt was dead; but the Duke of Bedford retained his conquests, and led the English to fresh victories, as regent and representative in France for the young English sovereign Henry VI. The English were everywhere triumphant; and Charles, with his French adherents and Scottish auxiliaries, could make no head against them. His fortunes were at the lowest ebb, and the city of Orleans, defended by the brave Dunois, was on the point of being taken by the English, when a deliverer appeared, sent, as it seemed, by the miraculous interference of Heaven. During the troubles which had been wasting France, there had been living in the obscure village of Domremy, in Lorraine, a young and simple girl, the daughter of poor parents of the humblest class of peasants. Her name was Joan, afterwards called Joan of Arc. By what conjunction of circumstances this peasant-girl, whose early years were spent in tending cattle and in other similar occupations, conceived that *she* was appointed to the task of setting her country free, is one of those mysteries which baffle alike our knowledge of historical facts and our ordinary notions of human character. It is certain, at least, that she must have been a girl not only of those high natural endowments which we call 'genius,' but also, like some other notable persons in the history of the world, of a cast of mind quite abnormal, and liable to what prosaic people would call 'mania,' but for which science may yet provide a better name. Pious, simple, and distinguished, it is said, by extreme good sense in all ordinary matters, she was but a child of thirteen, listening as a child to the dismal stories she heard in her native village respecting

the triumphs of the English, and the disasters of her country, when she began to see visions, and lights, and to hear voices calling upon her to quit her native place, and to go and drive the English out of France. Month after month, as the news of the miseries of her country wrought upon her imagination, the enthusiastic girl continued to see these supposed visions, and to hear these heavenly voices. Her eccentricity became talked of in the village, and her parents thought to cure her by giving her in marriage to a relative. At length, in her eighteenth year (1428), she went with an uncle with whom she was staying at the time, and presented herself to the French commander of the town of Vaucouleurs, to whom she told her story. The commander naturally laughed at the strange narrative, and sent her home. Still she persisted in her design, openly announcing it to all, and declaring that it was she alone that could save France, and 'not either kings or dukes, nor yet the king of Scotland's daughter'—an expression which proves that she was well acquainted with the political rumours of the day. She began also to prophesy, saying that the siege of Orleans would be raised, and that the young king would be crowned at Rheims. Her enthusiasm and her evident good faith impressed all who came near her; men of education in the neighbourhood became believers in her divine mission; and fresh communications were made to the commander of Vaucouleurs, who at last thought himself bound to send her with an escort to the king. Fearing, on the one hand, to incur ridicule by listening to the fancies of a wild girl, and, on the other, to have dealings with one who might turn out to be a sorceress, the prince and his advisers used every precaution to test her sincerity, and to ascertain the nature of her former life. Lawyers and learned men saw and examined her for this purpose. Nothing could be found against her; and as the position of affairs was so desperate that it could hardly be made worse, it was resolved to let the girl have her own way. A suit of armour was made for her, she was mounted on a horse, and took her place among the commanders of the French army.

286. The exploits of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, soon filled all France with wonder. Partly by real boldness and hard fighting, in which she took part at the head of the French soldiers, partly by the moral effects of her example, and the terror inspired by her supposed supernatural character, she succeeded in a few weeks in turning the tide of the war. The siege of Orleans was raised; the English driven from post to post; their most eminent commanders were taken prisoners; and in July 1428, Charles VII. was crowned in the cathedral of Rheims. Joan of Arc was twice wounded during these three months. For two years longer, she continued to lead and animate the French troops against the English, and their allies the Burgundians; but her actions during this time were not so remarkable as at first, and she is said to have considered her mission ended, and to have desired to return to her native village. At length, in leading a sally from Compiegne against the Burgundians, who were besieging that town, she was taken prisoner, and sold to the English for a large sum of money. After some months, she was brought to trial on a charge of witchcraft, and cruelly burned to death at Rouen, in the year 1431. Thus perished, at the age of twenty-one, one of the most extraordinary persons in the history of France, or of the world. Her death was equally disgraceful to the English, who were her immediate executioners; to the Burgundians, and other French allies of the English, who urged them on; and to the French patriotic party, who made no efforts to obtain her release. The poor girl wept bitterly at the stake, but to the last maintained, that in all she had done she had obeyed the commands of Heaven, conveyed to her by visions of angels and angelic voices. After her death, her memory was cherished with indescribable enthusiasm by the French nation; every particular relating to her and to her family was carefully collected; and at the present time, the various memoirs of Joan of Arc in the French language would form a library of many hundred volumes.

287. By little and little, Charles VII., whose abilities as a general procured for him the name of 'the Victorious,' recovered his paternal dominions. In 1435, he effected a

treaty of reconciliation with the Burgundians; in 1436, he entered Paris; in 1450, Normandy was reconquered; and in 1453, all that remained to the English of the French territory was Calais and its neighbourhood. The latter part of Charles's reign was spent in energetic efforts to restore order in his afflicted country, the provinces of which had for a generation been in the possession of hordes of marauders, bred out of the civil wars. His legislation was, on the whole, wise and firm; and one important fact connected with his reign is, that he was the first modern sovereign who substituted a standing army for the system of service by mere feudal bands. This measure, adopted as a means of clearing the country of its hordes of military freebooters, tended greatly to increase the power of the crown. The closing years of Charles's eventful and checkered life were embittered by the unnatural conduct of his son, the Dauphin Louis, afterwards Louis XI., who joined the nobles in cabals against his government. Charles, who seems to have inherited a trace of his father's insanity, fell at length into a state of nervous irritability, in which, under an apprehension that his children meant to poison him, he refused all food for eight days, and died of exhaustion (July 1461).

288. The reign of Louis XI. (1461-1483) was one continued display of state-craft, intrigue, and duplicity, conjoined with the most abject religious superstition, and very great perseverance and talent. Maintaining in his pay a large standing army of Frenchmen, together with Swiss and Scotch mercenaries, he employed it in more thoroughly accomplishing the task to which his predecessors had applied themselves—the reduction of all the great feudal lordships into direct domains of the crown. He ruled his subjects with extreme rigour, but encouraged learning and useful arts. He was the first French monarch who assumed the title of 'Most Christian King.' He was succeeded by his son, Charles VIII., whose reign (1483-1498) presents nothing very remarkable to be recorded, with the exception of some events belonging more properly to Italian history.

289. With the death of Charles VIII., the direct line

of Valois came to an end, his successor, Louis XII. (1498-1515), inheriting the throne by collateral right, as being descended from a younger son of Charles V. He was a kind-hearted monarch, and so popular with his own subjects, as to receive the name of 'Father of the People;' his foreign policy, however, was turbulent and ambitious, and involved France in incessant wars with Spain and Italy. On his death, he left no male issue, and was succeeded by another scion of the royal Capetian stock—Francis I. (1515-1547), whose reign forms an important era in the history of France.

290. III. The British Islands.—As the most important events in the history of France during the period under notice had been the wars with England, so the most important events in the history of *England*, during the same period, had been the wars with France. It is from this period, indeed, that we may date the unfortunate hostility and military rivalry between the two neighbour countries. The French wars, which were extremely popular in England, occupied, as we have seen, the reigns of as many as seven monarchs of this period: those of the last four monarchs of the Plantagenet line—Edward I. (1272-1307), Edward II. (1307-1327), Edward III., in whose reign they became more persevering and sanguinary (1327-1377), and Richard II. (1377-1399); and those of all the three monarchs of the Lancaster line —Henry IV. (1399-1413), Henry V. (1415-1422), and Henry VI. (1422-1461). These foreign wars were scarcely over, when there began that series of intestine wars called 'the Wars of the Roses,' which for a long period made England a battle-field between two rival factions, and arrested the progress of calm national civilisation. These wars, which began in the reign of Henry VI., consisted in a struggle for the throne between two rival houses, who both claimed the right of succession—the House of Lancaster, whose emblem was the Red, and the House of York, whose emblem was the White Rose. At length, after the throne had been uneasily occupied for twenty-four years by three princes of the House of York —Edward IV. (1461-1483), Edward V. (1483), and

Richard III. (1483-1485)—peace was restored to England by the accession of Henry VII., of the House of Tudor, who, himself the heir of the claims of Lancaster, united in his family those of the rival house by marrying the Princess Elizabeth, the heiress of the House of York. Under this able and astute sovereign, England entered on an era of her existence more flourishing than she had enjoyed since the reign of Edward III.; and on the death of Henry VII. in 1509, his son Henry VIII. (1509-1547) found himself at the head of a great, wealthy, and well-organised nation. Such is a summary view of English history during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and on the whole, it may be said that the proper history of the English nation, as it is now conceived, began in the reign of Edward III., or about the year 1350. It was then that English became the national language, spoken at court as well as among the common people; and it was then that the distinction between the Normans and the Saxons permanently disappeared. The wars with France, by producing a national enthusiasm in all ranks, tended to bring about this result. Till then the nobles were Frenchmen rather than Englishmen, and it even seemed possible that French would be the language of the country. Then, however, the strong native element triumphed; and England really became England. Among the last traces of that antagonism of races which had been introduced by the Conquest, was the insurrection of Wat Tyler, in the reign of Richard II. (1381), during which the populace held possession of the metropolis for several days, and committed great outrages. This insurrection, however, as well as the similar one of Jack Cade, seventy years later (1451), was probably rather an outbreak of social discontent, occasioned by actual oppression, than, as some represent it, a dying spasm of Saxon patriotism against Norman rule.

291. In *Ireland*, during the period under notice, English colonisation, and the introduction of English law, had been proceeding but slowly. The ancient Celtic chieftains still maintained their rule over the Celtic *population;* and even such Norman lords as had settled

there in the reigns of the first Henrys and Edwards conformed to Celtic habits, and assumed Celtic titles. At the accession of Henry VIII., there was only an inconsiderable tract along the eastern coast of Ireland where English law and English royalty were fully recognised.

292. Delivered by the victory of Bannockburn, and by the able rule of Robert Bruce (1306–1329), from the hated thraldom of England, *Scotland* continued during the whole of the period under notice to harass her powerful neighbour by way of retaliation. The wars between Scotland and England are to Scottish, what the wars between England and France are to English history. Resumed with bad success by David II., the son of Robert Bruce (1329–1370), who was no match for such a monarch as Edward III., they were carried on, with intervals of intermission, by his successors the Stuarts—Robert II. (1370–1390), Robert III. (1390–1406), James I. (1406–1437), James II. (1437–1460), James III. (1460–1488), James IV. (1488–1513), and James V. (1513–1542). Meanwhile, the Scottish nation was becoming consolidated by the gradual, though slow, introduction of the power of the Lowlanders into the domain of the Highland clans; and the Scotch were assuming that distinctive character as a people which they yet retain.

293. IV. THE GERMAN EMPIRE.—The accession of Rudolph of Hapsburg to the imperial throne (1273), forms an epoch in the history of Germany. Rudolph was an able and energetic ruler, and in his reign the empire recovered from the confusion into which it had fallen during the great interregnum. He died in 1291, and his successors were—Adolphus, Duke of Nassau (1291–1298); Albert I., of Hapsburg, the son of Rudolph (1298–1308); Henry VII. of Luxembourg (1308–1314); Louis of Bavaria (1314–1347); Charles IV. of Luxembourg, king of Bohemia (1347–1378); Wenceslaus, the son of Charles (1378–1410); Sigismund, king of Hungary, brother of Wenceslaus (1411–1437); Albert II. of Austria (1437–1439); Frederick III. (1439–1493); and Maximilian I., the son of Frederick (1493–1519).

294. These emperors differed from each other in character and abilities, and their reigns were signalised by various events of more or less importance, including some foreign wars. In the reign of Charles IV. (1356), was promulgated the *Golden Bull*, or fundamental law of the empire. It determined the mode in which the emperors should be chosen, vesting the choice absolutely in the seven electors; it settled the order of succession in the electorates and in others of the states; fixed the rights of the imperial cities; and established various regulations respecting the coinage and commerce of the empire. It was provided by the Bull, that all future elections to the imperial crown should take place in the free city of Frankfort, and that the coronation should be at Aix-la-Chapelle, and be performed by the Archbishop of Cologne. From this period, the constitution of the German Empire may be considered to have been settled. While each of the numerous states and cities which composed the empire governed itself independently—the states, according to the feudal system, under their princes, dukes, counts, &c.; and the cities, according to the municipal system, under magistrates elected by the burghers—the general affairs of the confederation were administered by the emperor, in conjunction with the Diet or common parliament of the states. The Diet was summoned by the emperor twice a year, in addition to extraordinary meetings. It consisted of three colleges or chambers—the College of Electors, composed of the seven electors of the empire; the College of Princes, comprehending all the dukes, counts, prelates, &c., of the empire; and the College of Free Cities. The emperor was present in the Diet, either personally or by a commissioner. The votes of each chamber or college were taken separately; and after the three colleges had come to an agreement on any measure, it was referred to the emperor for ratification. If the emperor gave his consent, it became a *conclusum imperii*, or law of the empire; but though the emperor might refuse his consent, he could not modify the conclusions of the Diet. The Diet had the right of deciding on peace and war, alliances with

foreign states, the reception of ambassadors, taxation for imperial purposes, and generally on matters affecting the interests of the confederacy. For trying cases between the emperor and the dukes, lords, &c., who were at the head of the several states, as well as for settling disputes between different states, there were two imperial courts of justice—the Aulic Council, which had its seat at the residence of the emperor; and the Cameral Tribunal, which sat at Wetzlar. The members of these courts were delegates from the various states, and an imperial commissioner presided in each.

295. The component states of the German Empire had each a history of its own; and as some of them were of great magnitude, materials of much interest are to be found in these separate state histories. One of the most important circumstances, for example, in the history of Germany during the period under notice, is the rise of the power of *Austria*. Originally a mere military district of the empire of Charlemagne, and therefore called *Oester-reich*, or 'Eastern government,' this territory had followed the fortunes of the German Empire as a dependency, first of the Dukes of Bavaria, and then of the Counts of Babenburg. Frederick I. raised it to the rank of a duchy, and as such it continued in possession of the House of Babenburg, who considerably enlarged it, till the year 1269, when it fell into the hands of Ottokar, king of Bohemia, who also increased its limits. On the accession of Rudolph of Hapsburg to the imperial crown, he was vehemently opposed by Ottokar; and in the struggle which ensued, Rudolph deprived Ottokar of the Austrian duchy, and conferred it on his own son Albert (1283), afterwards emperor. From this period the Austrian duchy remained in possession of the House of Hapsburg, and shared in the prosperity of that house, aggrandising itself from time to time by new acquisitions of territory, till it became the preponderant state in the German Empire. Among the earliest additions to the original duchy were—Styria (1186), Carniola (1269), the margraviate of Burgau (1283), Carinthia (1331), the Tyrol (1363), the landgraviate of Breisgau, in Swabia

(1367), and Trieste (1380). That, however, which most of all contributed to the aggrandisement of Austria, was the elevation of its ducal house to the permanent dignity of the empire. From the time of the accession of Rudolph, the founder of the Austrian house, the Hapsburg princes had always aspired to this honour; and one of them—Albert I.—had succeeded in attaining it. The honour, however, being elective, the states thwarted the ambition of Rudolph's descendants as long as they could, selecting the emperors from the Luxembourg, the Bavarian, and the Bohemian Houses. It was not till the accession of Albert II. (1437), that the Austrian House of Hapsburg finally triumphed; but from that time, the dignities of King of the Romans and Emperor of Germany, though still elective, were uninterruptedly fixed in the Hapsburg or Austrian line. All the emperors subsequent to Albert II. were Austrians, so that the history of the Austrian dynasty becomes thenceforward identical with the history of the German Empire. The most important event in Austrian history proper, subsequent to the accession of Albert II. to the empire, was the marriage, in 1477, of Maximilian, son of Frederick III., to Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Rash, Duke of Burgundy. The Dukes of Burgundy, though nominally feudatories of the French crown, to which they were also related by birth, were during the fifteenth century powerful European potentates, possessing, in addition to their French dukedom, extensive districts in the German Empire—such as the duchies of Brabant, Limbourg, and Luxembourg; the counties of Hainault, Holland, and Namur; the marquisate of Antwerp; and the lordships of Friesland and Malines. The whole of what we now call the Netherlands and Belgium belonged, in fact, to the Dukes of Burgundy, whose power rendered them rivals rather than subjects of the kings of France. When Charles the Rash died (1476), the crafty Louis XI. of France, who had been his enemy throughout his life, strove to obtain possession of his dominions by arranging a marriage between his heiress, Mary, and the dauphin, afterwards Charles VIII. Disgusted with the duplicity

of Louis, the heiress broke off the negotiation, and accepted the hand of Maximilian of Austria, the son and probable successor of the German emperor. Thus the Austrian possessions—raised on this occasion to the dignity of an archduchy—were increased by the addition of all the territories of the Dukes of Burgundy out of France, Burgundy Proper being appropriated by the French monarch. The issue of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy, was that Philip of Austria who, as we have seen, married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain (§ 278). Philip died while his father Maximilian was on the imperial throne; and thus the vast Austrian dominions, and all those of Burgundy in the Netherlands, descended to his young son Charles, who, by his mother's side, was also heir of the Spanish monarchy.

296. Intimately connected with the history of Austria at this period, is the early history of an important European country—*Switzerland.* After having been overrun by Franks, Burgundians, Alemanni, and others of the conquering Germanic tribes, who dispossessed and reduced the original Helvetian inhabitants, this part of Europe had been included in the Frankish Empire of Charlemagne. On the dissolution of this empire, Helvetia, as the country was called, was broken up into two parts—Eastern Helvetia being attached to the German Empire, and the remainder to the Italian Empire of Lothaire. For a while, this latter portion was included in the early kingdom of Burgundy; but in 1016, when this kingdom became extinct, all Helvetia was attached to the German Empire. From this period, Helvetia, or Switzerland, was governed as an integral portion of the empire; some districts by lords, counts, wardens, bishops, &c., and others by municipal corporations, just as in other parts of the empire. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, the most powerful lords in Helvetia were the Counts of Savoy, Gruyère, Neuchâtel, Toggenburg, and Kryburg; the most influential towns were those of Geneva, Lausanne, Freyburg, Berne, Soleure, Basle, and Schaffhausen—the last four of which enjoyed imperial charters. There were,

besides, three districts which, under the name of *cantons*, enjoyed the privilege of a free government by magistrates of their own, under a peculiar imperial grant—the cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Unterwalden. Such was the state of affairs when the House of Hapsburg, originally an unimportant Helvetian family, began its career of self-aggrandisement. Before his election to the imperial throne, Rudolph of Hapsburg had distinguished himself by the gradual extension of his family possessions in Helvetia, and by the energy and ability with which he managed that part of the empire. His son, Albert I., inherited his father's interest in these territories; and no sooner had he been made emperor (1298), than he sought to convert the Helvetian territories into a principality of the House of Hapsburg, to be given to one of his sons. This project he pursued with much perseverance, buying up the rights of some of the feudal lords and bishops, overawing others, and trying to substitute an arbitrary despotism under imperial officers for the system of self-government enjoyed by some of the cities and by the cantons. The free spirit of the mountaineers was roused by these encroachments; and in the year 1308, three bold patriots, named Stauffacher, Fürst, and Melchthal, belonging respectively to the three cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, formed a conspiracy, which resulted in a general insurrection of the cantons, and the expulsion of the oppressors. The popular hero in this war of the cantons against the House of Hapsburg, was the famous William Tell, whom tradition reports to have been the son-in-law of Fürst, and whose exploits are the theme of national Swiss romance. The three cantons having formed a league, and thus constituted a new people called the *Swiss*, after the name of one of the cantons, the war with the Austrian dukes was continued with the greatest bravery, till the two great battles of Morgarten (1315) and Sempach (1386) convinced the Austrians that further efforts against the Swiss were vain. Meanwhile, the confederacy increased; to the three original cantons were gradually added five others—Lucerne (1332), Zurich (1351), Glaris and Zug (1353), and Berne (1355). These eight cantons

extended their limits by degrees, both by purchase and by war; and at last, in 1415, the Swiss completed their emancipation, by seizing what remained of the estates of the House of Hapsburg, and dividing them among the cantons. In the course of the fifteenth century, the Swiss were engaged in wars with France, and also with Charles the Rash of Burgundy; the cantons also were disturbed by mutual wars and dissensions. By the year 1500, however, these wars were at an end; in that year, the independence of the Swiss as a nation was formally recognised by the Emperor Maximilian; and five new cantons having been admitted, in addition to the original eight—namely, Soleure, Freyburg, Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell—the Swiss confederacy assumed that form of organisation which it retained till the end of the eighteenth century. According to this organisation, the cantons governed themselves separately as small republics, under magistrates elected by the people; and the general affairs of the confederacy were managed by diets, to which each of the thirteen cantons sent representatives, while some allied cities and districts also exercised an influence in the deliberations. Being a small people surrounded by powerful nations, the Swiss could only hope to maintain the independence they had so bravely won by keeping up their military habits; and hence a militia system was adopted in all the cantons, by which it was secured that every male inhabitant should be a trained soldier. This was followed by a curious result. The military services of the Swiss youth not being always required at home, it became customary for them to quit their native mountains, and hire themselves out as mercenaries to such European sovereigns as were willing to engage them. In almost all the great wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bands of Swiss mercenaries were to be found fighting often on the unpopular side, and sometimes, indeed, on both sides; and even in our own time, the despotic princes of Italy take advantage of the hired valour of the Swiss, and are surrounded with Swiss body-guards, on whom they rely in preference to native soldiers in all cases of popular insurrection.

297. Another portion of the German Empire, the history of which is of considerable importance during the period under notice, was *Bohemia*. This country—the population of which belonged to the Slavonian race, and were therefore more allied to the Poles and the Russians than to the Germans—had, nevertheless, as we have seen, fallen under the German dominion, and been attached to the German Empire, first as a dependency, and then as a constituent state, with the dignity of an electorate. The native Slavonic dynasty of the Bohemian kings—the last of whom were violent opponents of the House of Hapsburg—became extinct in 1306 by the assassination of Wenceslaus V.; and the opportunity was taken by the German Emperor Henry VII., of the House of Luxembourg, to plant a German dynasty on the throne in the person of his own son John (1309), who had married the sister of Wenceslaus. The son of this John, who was emperor of Germany as well as king of Bohemia, extended the kingdom by incorporating with it Silesia and Lusatia (1355–1370). Wenceslaus, the son of Charles, inherited the Bohemian kingdom, and was also elected to the imperial dignity; and it was on his death, and on the accession of his brother Sigismund, king of Hungary, to the empire (1410), that Bohemia became the scene of the famous religious war of the Hussites, the particulars of which will be related hereafter. The main purpose of the war was to prevent Sigismund from becoming king of Bohemia; but in this the insurgents failed, and after a severe struggle, Sigismund secured the kingdom, and bequeathed it to his heirs. From this period, however, the preponderance of the Bohemian kings in the empire declined, the Hapsburg Dukes of Austria rising to the place of pre-eminence.

298. The only other fact connected with the history of Germany that needs here to be recorded, was the extension of the empire in the north-east over the territories now called Prussia, and along the coasts of the Baltic Sea. Till the time of the Crusades, these countries were inhabited by pagan nations, chiefly of the Slavonian stock, and known by the names of Prussians, Lithuanians, Livonians, &c.

The zeal for the propagation of Christianity by the sword which was awakened by the Crusades, was soon directed to this quarter of Europe; and in the course of the thirteenth century, bands of knights, called the *Teutonic Knights* and the *Livonian Knights*, were encouraged by the popes to conquer the heathens of these remote regions. They succeeded in their enterprise by little and little; the natives were exterminated or converted; and cities and bishoprics, including those of Koningsberg, Marienburg, and Riga, were founded to perpetuate the conquests. For more than a century, the lands thus colonised were governed by the knights as a semi-military, semi-religious corporation. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, the power of the knights declined, and Poland appropriated part of their conquests; while such of them as remained attached to the German Empire, fell under the immediate dominion of the Electors of Brandenburg.

299. V. ITALY.—The history of Italy divides itself, as before, into three streams—the history of the Northern Republics; the history of the States of the Church, or Central Italy; and the history of Naples.

300. (1.) *The Italian Republics.*—Although the German emperors still retained the nominal sovereignty of Northern Italy, their authority had, as we have seen, been reduced to a mere shadow by the wars of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and the cities had been left to pursue their spontaneous career, all bearing the name of republics, though the constitutions of some of them were more aristocratic than democratic. It was in vain that some of the emperors of the fourteenth century—Henry VII., Louis of Bavaria, and Charles IV.—made attempts to re-extend the imperial sway over Northern Italy. But though all but independent of the foreign rule of the emperors, the cities were liable to the dangers of internal tyranny. In a congeries of small states or municipalities, each distracted within itself by political factions, and set against its neighbours by traditional feuds, it was easy for able and ambitious individuals to raise themselves to the position of petty despots, first in their own cities, and

afterwards over adjacent districts. And such was, in fact, the history of the Italian Republics during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The following families raised themselves to importance at this period in the politics of the Lombard, the Romagnese, and the Tuscan cities—in Milan, the Viscontis; in Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso, the Della Scalas; in Padua, the Carraras; in Mantua, the Gonzagas; in Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, the Marquises of Este; in Rimini, the Malatestas; and in Florence, the Medicis. Of these the most celebrated were the Medicis of Florence, and the Viscontis of Milan.

301. The Medicis were a Florentine family, distinguished since the thirteenth century in the politics of their native state, in which they generally took the popular side. One of them, Giovanni de Medici, made a large fortune by commerce, and on his death (1428) bequeathed it, together with his great popularity and influence in Florence, to his sons Cosmo and Lorenzo. Cosmo de Medici, pursuing his father's trade as a merchant, attained to immense wealth, and was regarded as one of the most able and important men, not only in Florence, but in Italy. For a time he was banished from Florence by an aristocratic faction; but during the latter part of his life, he resided in his native city, as the first man in its administration, beloved by all on account of his liberality, and affectionately styled the 'Father of his country.' Although only a private merchant, he rivalled the greatest princes of his age in his munificent patronage of learning and the fine arts. He collected a splendid library; endowed colleges, hospitals, and religious houses; and left behind him a name yet revered by all Italians. After his death in 1464, his heirs continued his princely policy, retaining their power and influence by their wise and liberal conduct, rather than by usurpation. Of these the most celebrated was his grandson, Lorenzo, styled 'Lorenzo the Magnificent,' who for many years was the acknowledged head of the Florentine Republic, and the greatest patron of literature in the world. He died in 1492; and his family inherited his honours and his influence in Italy — his eldest son, Pietro, succeeding to his

place in the politics of Florence; while his second son, Giovanni, attained a still higher position, under the title of Pope Leo X. (1513–1522). Another of the Medici, the natural son of a brother of Lorenzo the Magnificent, afterwards attained to the papal dignity as Clement VII. (1523–1534). In short, there is hardly a family that makes such an important figure in the history of the world at this period as that of the Medicis of Florence. In this city their power was always exercised with a due regard to republican forms; and it was not till towards the middle of the sixteenth century that Florence ceased to be a republic.

302. The supremacy of the Viscontis in Milan, and in the other Lombard cities, dates from 1315, when Matthew Visconti was invested by the German emperor with the title of Captain and Viceroy of Lombardy, in which capacity he confirmed and extended the power which Milan had already begun to exercise over the other Lombard Republics. His great-grandson purchased from the Emperor Wenceslaus the title of Duke of Milan, which title, with the virtual sovereignty over the subordinate cities, he bequeathed to his descendants. The Viscontis were for some time absolute lords of all Lombardy, and even aspired to the foundation of a kingdom of Northern Italy, which should include not only the Lombard, but also the Romagnese and Tuscan cities, as well as Genoa and Venice. In the year 1447, however, the dynasty became extinct, and their possessions passed by marriage into the hands of a new family, that of the Sforzas, the founder of which was Sforza Attendolo, a peasant by birth, who had raised himself by his military talents, for which the condition of Italy then afforded ample scope, to the highest reputation. As Dukes of Milan, the Sforzas inherited the ambition of their predecessors the Viscontis: they made alliances with France and Naples; and for two generations kept Northern Italy in a state of agitation. During the fifteenth century, however, the dukedom of Milan declined somewhat from its position of pre-eminence in Lombardy—the Gonzagas of Mantua and the Marquises of Montferrat curtailing its authority, while not a

few of the Lombard cities fell into the power of the Venetians.

303. The histories of *Genoa* and *Venice*, during the period in question, consists chiefly of mutual wars, occasioned by commercial rivalry. At first, the Genoese were the more successful; but in 1380, the loss of a great sea-battle near Chioggia crippled their power, and gave the sovereignty of the sea to the Venetians. From that time, Genoa, torn by political factions among its citizens, was obliged to lean on foreign support—courting the protection sometimes of the French kings, sometimes of the Marquises of Montferrat, and sometimes of the Dukes of Milan. From the year 1464, the Dukes of Milan held Genoa as a dependency of their dukedom. Meanwhile, the Venetians, growing wealthier and wealthier by their commerce with the East, were extending their domain at home. In 1388, they seized Treviso and the Trevisian march, dispossessing the family of the Carraras; in 1420, they wrested Dalmatia from the king of Hungary; and between the years 1404 and 1454, they contrived to detach the cities and territories of Vicenza, Belluno, Verona, Padua, Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona from the dukedom of Milan, and annex them to their own flourishing republic. The jealousy with which the Venetian oligarchy still guarded their rights, was shewn by their executing one of their doges, Marino Faliero (1355), for a conspiracy against the constitution.

304. (2.) *The Roman States, or States of the Church.*—At the close of the thirteenth century, we left this important part of Central Italy in a somewhat uncertain political condition—the popes being virtually the sovereigns, though their temporal power was disputed and restricted by powerful families who aspired to the magistracy, while at the same time the claims of the German emperors to the feudal superiority over the Papal States continued still to be nominally recognised. An end was put to this state of things, so far as regarded the claims of the German Empire, in the pontificate of Nicholas III. (1277–1281). This pontiff, anxious to establish the papal sovereignty on a firm basis, applied to Rudolph of

Hapsburg, who had then just acceded to the imperial throne, for a formal act that should settle for ever the question of the relations of the Papal States to the empire. Rudolph, who was so busy with German affairs as to have no time to pursue the policy of his predecessors in Italy, very readily granted the pope's request; and in May 1278, letters-patent were published, with the consent of the princes and states of the empire, defining the limits of the States of the Church to be from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean in one direction, and from Radicofani to the Neapolitan frontier in the other. All the feudal rights of the empire over this territory were formally relinquished in the same document, and declared to be transferred to the see of Rome. Thus Nicholas found himself in undisputed legal possession of that temporal sovereignty which had till then been enjoyed by the popes only virtually. To secure the sovereignty in all time coming, he forbade the future election of any emperor, king, duke, prince, or lay-noble, to the office of senator or acting magistrate in Rome, vesting that office in himself, and appointing his nephew, Orso, as his vicar. The remainder of his pontificate was spent in consolidating his power, and in embellishing Rome with new buildings, among which was the Palace of the Vatican.

305. It was impossible, however, to restore order in the Roman States. Various powerful families—the Orsini, the Annibaldeschi, the Colonnas, &c.—contended for the administration of the government, either independently of the popes or as their ministers. As these families had members or friends in the College of Cardinals, every new election of a pope was a struggle for the mastery; and no sooner was a pope elected, than he was opposed and thwarted by the partisans of his rivals. The continual interference of foreign potentates, to all of whom it was a matter of interest who filled the papal chair, increased the confusion. For twenty-five years after the death of Nicholas III., during which short period no fewer than six popes reigned, Rome was the scene of riot, revolt, and faction. Even the genius of Boniface VIII.—who was one of these popes (1295–1303), and whose efforts for the

assertion and maintenance of the papal supremacy over the whole world rivalled, as we have seen, those of his predecessors, Gregory VII. and Innocent III.—was crippled by the opposition he met with in his own temporal domains. His election had been opposed by the Colonnas; and this family carried on a struggle with him during his whole pontificate. The Orsini took part with the pope against the Colonnas, who were excommunicated and banished from Rome. At length, however, one of the family returned to Rome at the head of French troops, took Boniface prisoner, and treated him with such cruelty that he soon afterwards died (1303). His successor, Benedict XI. (1303–1305), restored the Colonnas; and for a short time Rome was tranquil.

306. By far the most momentous event in the history of the Papal States during this period, was the so-called Babylonish Captivity, which began after the death of Benedict XI. The circumstances were these: During the pontificate of Boniface VIII., a quarrel had broken out between that pope and the French king, Philip the Fair (1285–1314), only paralleled by the famous contest, two centuries before, between Pope Gregory VII. and the German Emperor Henry IV. The causes of the quarrel were various; but consisted, in the main, in the resolute ambition of Boniface to carry out his views of papal supremacy within the dominions of the French monarch. He interfered between Philip and his vassals; summoned the French clergy to Rome, to consider the means of introducing reforms into France; and in many other ways proceeded to give practical effect to the theory, that the popes were superior to the kings of the earth. Philip was not the man to submit to these pretensions: he ordered the pope's bull to be burned; forbade the clergy to leave the kingdom; convened the States-general; and passed decrees affirming the independence of the French crown. Boniface retaliated by excommunicating Philip, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance; but the French, including the clergy, gathered manfully round their monarch, and laughed at the pope and his fulminations. Philip appealed to a Council of the Church, and

caused articles of impeachment to be drawn up against Boniface, accusing him of arrogance, profligacy, and sorcery. The struggle continued till the death of Boniface; Philip being joined by the pope's private enemies, the Colonnas, through whom he contrived to intrigue in Rome itself. But the most important result of the struggle was, that it produced a permanent antagonism between the French crown and the papacy, similar to that which had so long subsisted between the papacy and the empire. Just as formerly, it was the object of the emperors to secure the appointment of Ghibelline popes—that is, of popes friendly to the imperial interests, and, if possible, of German birth; so now it was the object of the French king to procure, if possible, the election of a Frenchman to the papacy. He succeeded in his design. After an interregnum of eleven months, during which Rome was a prey to anarchy, the French faction in the College of Cardinals triumphed over the Italian faction, and chose, as the successor of Benedict XI., Bertrand, Archbishop of Bourdeaux. Bertrand assumed the papacy as Clement V. (1305–1316), but instead of removing to Rome, fixed on the French town of Avignon as the seat of his court, and summoned the cardinals thither. His immediate successors in the papacy, all of whom were Frenchmen, persisted in also remaining at Avignon; and for a period of seventy years (1305–1376), known in history by the name of the Babylonish Captivity, applied to it by contemporary writers, Rome was without a resident pope. Attempts were made, indeed, by the Italian faction, assisted by some foreign powers, to set up anti-popes, but without much success.

307. This event, so important in the general history of the world, had a special effect upon the condition of the Roman States. The popes at Avignon appointed legates to represent them in Rome; but in reality the administration of affairs fell into the hands of the Orsini, the Colonnas, and the other powerful native families, who nominated senators in their own interest; and the war of faction was renewed. This state of things was encouraged by the German emperors, who naturally felt

their consequence in Europe injured by the power which the French monarchs had acquired by the transference of the papacy to Avignon. For some years (1328–1334) Rome was governed by Castruccio Castracani, an able man, whom the emperor, Louis of Bavaria, appointed for the purpose, with the title of Imperial Vicar. The Roman factions consented to this arrangement, which set up the German influence in Rome, in opposition to that of the French with their Gallican popes.

308. Meanwhile, however, the old republican spirit of the Romans was reviving; and people were beginning to ask themselves, whether Rome and Italy were thus for ever to be governed by factions of native nobles, and vicars of the German emperors, and legates of non-resident popes. This feeling, which was strongest among the lowest ranks of the people, found a spokesman and representative in a man of great eloquence, and of an ardent and enthusiastic disposition—Cola di Rienzi, who, though the son of a tavern-keeper, had raised himself to such high estimation by his eloquence and other popular qualities, that he had been chosen one of an embassy sent, in 1342, to Avignon, to urge the return of the then reigning pope, Clement VI., to Rome. This embassy had failed; and Rienzi, on returning to Rome, had begun a new career as a conspirator and declaimer, calling on the Romans to have done trafficking with popes and princes, to rely only on themselves, and to form themselves into a republic on a strong and permanent basis. Like many Italian patriots before and since, Rienzi seems to have contemplated the possibility of extending the revolution beyond the Roman States, and uniting all Italy into one powerful and compact nation, subject to a common government. So powerful, at all events, were his appeals to the popular enthusiasm, that the Romans rose in insurrection (1347); put down the factions, and their officers the senators; and appointed Rienzi their tribune. For a year, Rienzi governed Rome with much vigour and success, assuming the somewhat pompous title of 'Nicholas, Severe and Clement, Liberator of Rome, zealous for the Weal of Italy, Friend of the

World, Tribune August.' But his aspirations were beyond his means: the Colonnas defeated him; annulled his acts; restored Rome to the popes; and appointed senators in their own interest and in that of the Orsini. Rienzi was taken prisoner, and sent to Avignon. After some years of confinement, however, he was released, and sent back to Rome as 'senator,' by Pope Innocent VI. (1354), that pope considering that he might be useful in bringing back the people to the papal allegiance. His conduct during this second brief period of power was so unpopular, that the Romans attacked his house, and murdered him (September 1354). During the remainder of the Babylonish Captivity, Rome was governed sometimes by the popes through their deputies, or sometimes by one of the factions, and sometimes by the people in tumultuous assemblies.

309. In the year 1376, the Captivity was brought to an end, and the papal see restored to Rome by Pope Gregory XI.—the last of seven French popes appointed at Avignon. But the condition of the Roman States was hardly improved by the change. On Gregory's death (1378), two rival popes were elected—a Neapolitan, named Urban VI., by the Italian party; and a Frenchman, named Clement VII., by the French party, who desired that the papacy should be transferred back to Avignon. Both popes proceeded to exercise the papal functions—Urban at Rome, and Clement at Avignon; and thus began what historians call the Great Schism of the Latin Church. This schism lasted forty years, or from 1378 to 1417, during which period the Catholic world found its allegiance divided between two distinct lines of popes—the one residing at Rome, the other at Avignon. The nations of Europe chose which pope they should obey, and called the other an anti-pope. The Romans, of course, took the side of the Roman line of pontiffs. They were not very submissive, however, to the temporal authority of these pontiffs; and during the Great Schism, the Roman States were probably the worst governed part of Europe—a prey to popular insurrections, the feuds of the Colonnas, and other factions; and to the incursions of *condottieri*, or

military adventurers, such as the first of the Sforzas, who lent their services to whosoever would pay for them.

310. Although the schism in the Catholic world was nominally terminated in 1417, when the Council of Constance cleared away the rival popes, and appointed a new one, it was not till the papacy of Nicholas V. (1447–1455) that Rome experienced the benefits of a cessation of civil disorder. The pontificate of this illustrious pope is an era in the history of the Roman States. He crushed the factions, and applied all his energies to the establishment of the temporal sovereignty of the popes on a basis that would last. He was the first pope who systematically appointed ecclesiastics to civil offices, a policy which has been pursued by all subsequent popes. He still permitted the office of senator to exist, and to be filled by a layman; but from this period the office declined in importance, till it became little more than a petty police magistracy. From the time of Nicholas V., cardinals and prelates have filled those posts in the civil administration of the Roman States which in other countries are usually filled by laymen. The result of this, and of the other measures adopted by Nicholas V. was, that the papal dominions became a regular European state, subject to an established ecclesiastical, as other states were to a civil, system of despotic rule. The successors of Nicholas ruled in Central Italy as acknowledged sovereigns, surrounded by ministers—the only difference between them and other sovereigns being, that their ministers were ecclesiastics, and that they themselves combined the sacerdotal with the princely character. The following is a list of these popes to the commencement of the sixteenth century:—Calixtus III., a Spaniard (1455-1458); Pius II., an Italian (1458–1464); Paul II., an Italian (1464–1471); Sextus IV., an Italian (1471–1485); Innocent VIII., an Italian (1485–1492); Alexander VI., a Spaniard (1492–1503); Pius III., an Italian (1503); Julius II., an Italian (1503–1513); and Leo X., an Italian of the House of Medici (1513–1522). Some of these popes were very able men. One of them, Alexander VI., was notorious for his crimes and profligacy. The

popedom of Leo X., who, like all the Medici, was a man of fine taste, and a patron of art and literature, formed an epoch in the history of the Catholic Church.

311. (3.) *Naples.*—The history of the kingdom of Naples during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has been already incidentally sketched in connection with that of Spain (§ 279). The line of Anjou princes had remained on the throne of Naples proper till the year 1382, contesting the sovereignty of Sicily with the Aragonese, who had wrested that island from them in the preceding century. From this time, however, the kingdom had been fought for by a variety of claimants—the French, the Angevine princes, and the Aragonese. The Aragonese proved victorious on the whole; and in 1442, Alphonso V., of Aragon, became master of Naples, which he bequeathed in 1458 to one branch of his descendants. The attempts of the French kings, Charles VIII. and Louis XII., to expel these princes, led to the interference of Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, and to the ultimate annexation of Naples to the crown of Spain (1506). Naples and Sicily, as we have seen, thus formed part of the vast European dominions inherited by Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand (1516).

312. VI. HUNGARY.—In the year 1301, the native line of the Magyar kings of Hungary, the descendants of the Asiatic chief Arpad, became extinct in the person of Andrew III., after a duration of 500 years. The crown was contested by several competitors, and at length fell to the lot of Charles of Anjou, brother of the French King St Louis (1310), in virtue of his marriage with the Hungarian Princess Mary. He bequeathed the throne to his son, Louis, surnamed 'the Great' (1342–1382). Louis makes a distinguished figure in the history of Hungary: he conquered Dalmatia from the Venetians, and reduced the princes of Moldavia, Wallachia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria to a state of dependence; and at length having succeeded, in 1370, to the kingdom of Poland by the death of his mother's brother, Casimir the Great, he found himself master of an empire reaching from the Adriatic to the Baltic. On his death, however, the Hungarian and

Polish kingdoms were again separated. The Hungarian kingdom was inherited by his eldest daughter Mary, who, in 1382, married Sigismund of Luxembourg, brother of the reigning German Emperor Wenceslaus, and himself afterwards emperor (1411–1437). Thus was established that connection between the Hungarian monarchy and the imperial crown of Germany, which has in subsequent times occasioned so many troubles. The reign of Sigismund as king of Hungary was very unfortunate. It was then, as we shall afterwards see, that the Turks began their dreaded invasions of Europe, and the geographical position of Hungary exposed it to the first attacks of these terrible enemies. Scarcely any part of Hungary remained in allegiance to Sigismund; and his son-in-law and successor, the Emperor Albert II. of Austria (1437–1439), perished in a campaign undertaken for the recovery of the kingdom. Meanwhile the Hungarian nobles, who had been disgusted with the inefficient rule of Sigismund, had been making overtures to the Polish kings; and on the death of Albert II., the young Polish King Vladeslav, or Ladislaus, assumed the Hungarian crown, as Ladislaus V. of Hungary (Ladislaus III. of Poland). He engaged with enthusiasm in the war against the Turks, and was successful in various battles; but was prematurely cut off in the battle of Varna, in the twenty-first year of his age. The crown of Hungary then descended to Ladislaus VI., a posthumous son of Albert II. The country was still the battle-field of Europe against the Turks, who were resisted by the Hungarian hero, John Hunniades, a man of humble origin, who had acquired such renown by his talent and bravery, that during the minority of Ladislaus the government of Hungary was placed in his hands. In the year 1458, the Hungarians chose as their king Matthias I., the son of Hunniades. Under this great prince (1458–1490) Hungary recovered its strength, and extended itself over an area as large as that of the present Austrian Empire. In the reign of his son and successor Louis, dissensions arose, and the Turks again broke in upon the kingdom, and made it their prey.

313. VII. Poland.—Although the annals of this

country ascend to a very remote antiquity, it first assumed distinct importance as a European state in the reigns of the two last princes of the Piast dynasty—Vladislav II., surnamed 'the Dwarf' (1306–1333), and Casimir the Great (1333–1370). By the warlike efforts of these princes, the limits of Poland were extended over the area to which the name of Poland was in subsequent ages definitely applied; while by their exertions for the consolidation of their monarchy, the foundations were laid of a regular political constitution. In the reign of Vladislav took place the first meeting of the Polish National Diet, or Parliament; and in that of Casimir, Poland received its first written code of laws. With Casimir ended the ancient dynasty of Piast, the Polish crown being transferred to Louis, king of Hungary. On the death of Louis (1382), his daughter Hedvige, a princess celebrated for her beauty and virtues, inherited the crown. In 1385, this princess married Jagellon, grand-duke of the neighbouring country of Lithuania—a country originally inhabited by a poor and barbarous people, of mixed Slavonian and Germanic lineage, but which, after having been subdued and colonised by Russians, and by the missionary Teutonic knights, had assumed a settled government under a native line of dukes. When Jagellon married Hedvige, he was still a pagan; but having been baptised, he became a zealous Catholic, and laboured for the conversion of the pagan portion of his Lithuanian subjects. From this period Poland and Lithuania were united in one sovereignty, which descended in the new Lithuanian line of the Jagellons. The second Polish prince of this line was that Vladislav III. (1434–1445) who was chosen king of Hungary, and died in an expedition against the Turks. He was succeeded by his brother Casimir (1445–1492), during whose able and enlightened reign the Prussians threw off their allegiance to the Teutonic knights, and declared themselves subjects of the Polish crown. After his death, the crowns of Poland and Lithuania were inherited in succession by his three sons—John Albrecht (1492–1501), Alexander (1501–1506), and Sigismund

(1506–1548)—the last of whom performed an important part in the events of his time.

314. Poland and Lithuania, although both under the same line of Jagellon kings, remained distinct as nations till towards the end of the sixteenth century, when their constitutions were consolidated, and their populations identified under the general name of Poles. As the Polish constitution became ultimately common to both nations, it will be sufficient to describe *it*. Poland, then, was an elective monarchy, resting on a basis of national aristocracy. The mass of the population were serfs, without any legislative privileges; and the ruling body consisted of a caste of nobles, numbering perhaps some hundred thousand persons, and constituting the proprietary of the kingdom, whose lands were tilled by the serfs. The Polish Parliament or Diet, consisted of three estates—the king; the senators, or chief dignitaries of the kingdom; and the general body of the nobles. The senators held their offices for life, and were in all 136 in number—namely, two archbishops; fifteen bishops; thirty-three governors of districts, called Palatines; eighty-five inferior governors, called Castellans; and one Starost of Samogitia. The Archbishop of Cracow was the first spiritual, and the Castellan of Cracow the first temporal senator. A committee of the senate, consisting of twenty-eight persons, formed the Council of the King; and this body, or the whole senate, had the power, along with the king, of issuing ordinances in cases not provided for by the ordinary working of the constitution. The proper legislative body, however, was the Diet, which met biennially, or oftener, if necessary, at Warsaw. When a diet was summoned, the king and his council issued letters-patent, ordering the nobles to elect their nuncios or representatives in provincial meetings, and stating at the same time the propositions that were to be submitted to the Diet on the part of the king and the senate. When the Diet had assembled, it divided into two chambers—the Senate, in which the king presided; and the Chamber of Nuncios, consisting of 184 members, and presided over by a marshal or speaker. The Chamber

of Nuncios, who had already been instructed by their constituents on the propositions that were to be submitted to them, debated these propositions publicly. By a very absurd regulation, however, no proposition could pass unless by a unanimous vote. If such a vote was obtained, the proposition was remitted to the king and senate; and on receiving the king's signature in a meeting of both chambers, became law. If the measure was opposed by any dissentient voice among the nuncios, it fell to the ground. The Chamber of Nuncios could also originate measures, and refer them to the senate and king for approval; and latterly it was very rare for the king and senate to withhold such approval.

315. The great flaw in the Polish constitution, was the *liberum veto*, as it was called—that is, the power of any one nuncio to throw out a measure by his single dissent. This, together with the system of serfage maintained in Poland, proved the ruin of the kingdom in later times. Another source of weakness at certain times, was the circumstance that the monarchy was elective. On the death of a king, the constitution was suspended; the Primate of Poland became interrex, and summoned the nobles to a diet of election at Vola, near Warsaw. The nobles appeared there, and assembled on horseback in a walled space set apart for the purpose—all the nobles from the same province forming a band under their provincial standard; and the election was decided by the votes of these bands, which were equal in value. The king-elect was subsequently crowned at Cracow, and inducted into his functions. All judicial proceedings were in his name; he nominated to all great offices, including the bishoprics; and he commanded the army in time of war. But he could not make new laws of his own authority, impose taxes, declare war, conclude peace, form a matrimonial alliance, or quit the kingdom.

316. VIII. RUSSIA.—The power formed among the Slavonians in the east of the Baltic by the Scandinavian Rurik in the ninth century, had, as we have seen, descended to his heirs—sometimes as a united monarchy

or grand-dukedom, and sometimes broken up into petty sovereignties, the chief of which were those of Kiew and Novgorod. Wars of these states with each other, and with their neighbours the Poles and the Lithuanians, make up the whole of Russian history till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the invasion of the dreaded Mongols or Mongol-Tatars (§ 264) produced an important change. Overrun by a host of nearly half a million of men under Toushi, the son of Genghis Khan, Russia became but the westernmost province of the great Mongolian Empire founded by this conqueror, and bequeathed by him to his successors Octai Khan and Kublai Khan. As such it was governed by Tatar chiefs at the head of nomadic Tatar hordes, the native princes of the line of Rurik being either swept away, or reduced to the rank of tributaries. On the disintegration of the Mongolian Empire, after the death of Kublai Khan (1294), that part of it which included Russia fell to the share of the khans of a horde of Tatars called the Golden or Kipchak Horde. For nearly two centuries these terrible barbarians wreaked their pleasure among the Russians; their place of encampment being the plains between the Caspian and the Volga, whence they made excursions for destruction and pillage. They burned Moscow more than once; ruined the trade of Novgorod; and deposed at their pleasure such of the native princes as they permitted to remain in the condition of tributaries. In token of subjection, these princes were required to lead the khan's horse, and to feed him with oats out of their cap of state. At length the power of the Kipchak becoming weakened by internal dissensions, the Russian princes began to aim at the re-establishment of their independence. The enterprise was finally accomplished by Ivan III., Grand-prince of Moscow, who destroyed the last vestiges of the power of the Golden Horde in Russia in the year 1480. With the reign of this prince (1462–1505) commences the modern history of Russia. By wars with the Poles, Lithuanians, Tatars, as well as with the smaller principalities which had existed till this time in some parts of Russia, he and his son, Basil IV.

(1505–1533), made Moscow the capital of an empire covering an area nearly corresponding with that of modern Russia in Europe. The population of this empire consisted of the native Slavonians, with a considerable infusion of Mongols and Tatars—the mass of this population being serfs, under a proprietary of nobles or boyards. The power of the grand-princes of Muscovy, which title they did not exchange for that of 'Czars of Russia' till towards the end of the sixteenth century, was absolutely despotic, limited only by the turbulence of the boyards, and the frequency of popular insurrections.

317. IX. THE SCANDINAVIAN KINGDOMS.—The most important event in the history of this part of Europe, during the period under notice, was the temporary union of the three crowns of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under the rule of Margaret, called 'the Semiramis of the North' (1389). The daughter of Waldemar III. of Denmark, the last male heir of the ancient Danish Estritson line, and the mother of Olaus V. of Norway, the last male heir of the ancient Norwegian Tryggueson line, she succeeded to these two crowns by a species of hereditary right; and the Swedes conferred their crown upon her by election, setting aside the ruling sovereign, Albert of Mecklenburg. Anxious to make this union of the three kingdoms permanent, Margaret convened the estates of the three kingdoms at Calmar (1397), and obtained a settlement of the succession upon her grand-nephew, Eric, all future sovereigns to be elected from among Eric's descendants by the common vote of the senates and chambers of deputies of the three kingdoms. The union thus ratified did not last long. After a turbulent reign, Eric was deposed, and his nephew, Christopher of Bavaria, elected in his stead. On his death the Swedes broke the union, and elected a separate king for themselves—Charles Canutson Bonde, who took the title of Charles VIII. of Sweden. The Danes imitated their example, and chose Christian I. of the House of Oldenburg. For a while (1450–1464) the three kingdoms were again united under this monarch, who also succeeded to the sovereignty of the German provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, the

connection of which with the Danish crown has in late times been a subject of controversy between Denmark and Germany. Again, however, the Union of Calmar fell into abeyance; and at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, John and Christian II., the successors of Christian I., were engaged in a struggle for the maintenance of the Union against the patriotism of the Swedes, who were resolutely averse to it.

318. Having thus narrated the most important events in the political history of each of the European states and kingdoms individually, from the commencement of the fourteenth to the commencement of the sixteenth century, it remains to fill up the picture of the state of Europe during this period by an account of certain incidents of common interest, referring to all the states as a body, or at least to the greater number of them, and not to any one in particular. These incidents range themselves under two heads—the progress of the civil constitution of society; and the history of the Catholic Church.

319. I. Progress of Civil Society.—At the close of the thirteenth century, we left all the Western nations still under the grasp of the feudal system, although that system had begun to exhibit symptoms of decay, being gradually eaten into, as it were, by the three antagonistic forces of Royalty, the power of the Commons, and the authority of the Church. In other words, if we analyse the society of any European country at the close of the thirteenth century, we find it to consist of five orders of men, clearly separated from each other—the kings and royal families, originally mere suzerains, but now beginning to be something more; the nobles or proprietors of land exercising rights of lordship, some over large, and others over small portions of the general territory; the commons or burghers, living in towns, and governing themselves democratically in guilds and corporations under ancient charters; the clergy, diffused through the community, but forming in many respects a distinct social body; and the peasantry or agricultural labourers, tilling the lands

of the proprietors under the various names of villeins, boors, serfs, and the like.

320. Now, the essence of the social movement which is marked all over Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, consisted in the closer union of these elements, and the simplification of their mutual relations. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, we still find in every important country the five orders of kings, nobles, burghers, clergy, and peasants; but what strikes us at a first glance is, that these orders have arranged themselves so as to exhibit in every country a new division of society into two, and only two parts—the government on the one hand, and the people on the other. Those elements of command and control, which had formerly been scattered, as it were, through society, partly in the hands of the kings, but more particularly in the hands of the feudal lords, whose castles dotted the country, now appear collected and concentrated into an invisible institution, recognised as the single and general government of the whole country, under which all the other parts of society lie equally prostrate and submissive. In every country, too, this government is of one type—royalty. The kings have everywhere triumphed over feudalism. The power formerly lodged in the castles of the great feudal lords, and exercised there capriciously and irregularly, according to the variety of circumstances and of individual character, has been, as it were, drained out of them, and accumulated in the court or palace of the king as a common receptacle, whence it is distributed by regular and legal channels over the whole territory and through all ranks. The *Government* and the *People*—such is now the most obvious composition of society in every country. The *Government*, a term of purely abstract meaning, implying that general authority and right of justice which the human mind in all ages has recognised as essential in human affairs, and which human society, even in its most barbarous condition, has ever struggled to realise, was bodied forth in the persons of the kings, to whom for that reason an unusual degree of reverence was now accorded; while under the general designation of the *People*, were

included all ranks and estates of men—clergy, nobles, burghers, and peasants. These ranks, it is true, survived; the clergy still regarded themselves as distinct from the laity, and the nobles regarded the burghers and peasants as their inferiors; nevertheless, as a general rule, royalty was in every country the sole depositary of the central authority, and all orders of men were its subjects.

321. This social change, the universality of which, in spite of all differences of race, language, and manners, proves that it was not accidental, but a necessary phase of modern development—was the gradual result of a long series of efforts, beginning as far back as the twelfth century, and continued till the sixteenth. The struggles of the kings of the various countries against their great vassals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries form, as we have seen, the most prominent fact in the history of that period. But though feudalism was thus weakened, it was not crushed; and the energies of royalty had to be exerted in the same direction during the two succeeding centuries. Among the causes which contributed to the extension of the royal power during these centuries may be reckoned these three—the closer reciprocal relations gradually established between the crown and the inferior nobles and proprietary through the royal courts of law; the closer connection between the crown and the burghs; and the gradual enfranchisement of the serfs. (1.) *Relations between the Crown and the inferior feudal Proprietary.*—When the feudal system was at its height, the crown had, properly speaking, no relations except with its own immediate vassals, the greater nobility of the kingdom; and the inferior proprietary and gentry were grouped round these great lords, and had no higher sources of authority to look to. Naturally, however, this state of things could not last; and hence, from the very first, we see kings interfering between the great lords and their vassals, and deciding on breaches of the feudal law. Thus the king's law-courts, in which the king was supposed to sit in person, and which originally tried only cases in dispute between the immediate vassals of the crown, extended their functions so as to hear appeals from the vassals of these

vassals. This habit of appeal from the inferior nobles to the king's courts became more and more general; so that gradually the administration of justice was transferred from the courts of the feudal lords in their respective castles, to certain tribunals, some of them stationary in the metropolis, others ambulatory and periodical, acting in the name of the king. As the king's judges were always eminent and learned men, their decisions gave great satisfaction when contrasted with the rude and dilatory justice of the old feudal courts. Thus, gradually, the kings of the various countries came to be regarded as fountains of justice; the inferior feudal proprietors looked up to them directly; and though in every country some great lords struggled to retain their rights, and to act as independent potentates among their vassals, the tide of progress was too strong for them. The latter half of the fifteenth century was the period, in most countries, of the complete accumulation of the judicial functions in the hands of the king. (2.) *Connection between the Crown and the Burghs.* —Enemies by their very origin to the feudal system out of which they had escaped, the commons were invariably on the side of the kings in their attacks upon that system; and the kings repaid the favour by protecting the commons. That which served the kings most in this alliance, was the wealth which it placed at their disposal. Instead of having to depend, as formerly, on the voluntary assistance of the nobles in their enterprises, the kings could now borrow money from rich citizens and corporations, and carry on enterprises by hired assistance. Thus arose the practice of employing mercenaries—a practice carried to the greatest extent in Italy, where, in the fifteenth century, there were *condottieri*, or trained captains, ready to undertake to raise bands of men, and execute any design of any prince for pay. Swiss mercenaries were also largely employed in France by Louis XI. and other monarchs, who thus rendered themselves independent of their nobles. Out of this system grew the practice of maintaining standing armies, than which nothing can be conceived more favourable to the growth of monarchical power. Charles VII. of France, as we have seen, was

the first king who resorted to this plan (1450), which was afterwards adopted by Ferdinand of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, and other princes. (3.) *Enfranchisement of the Serfs.*—In order that the great task which the kings had in view might be complete—namely, the union of all ranks and classes into uniform national masses, subject to a common system of authority—it was necessary to penetrate below the different grades of rural proprietors and vassals, and below the burghers, down to the great population of serfs, villeins, and peasants, which for ages had toiled on in a condition of dumb slavery, without recognised rights, and without any means of acquiring them except that of insurrection. Accordingly, in co-operation with the church, which had always been the natural protector and comforter of this part of the great European community, the kings very early directed their attention to the amelioration of the condition of the peasantry. The manumission of serfs had always been encouraged by the clergy; and all that was necessary at first on the part of the kings, was to facilitate this practice of manumission by legal enactments. In this way, and without any direct or violent attempts at general enfranchisement, absolute slavery had nearly died out in some parts of Europe before the middle of the fourteenth century. This was particularly the case in Italy, where the number of civic communities, in proportion to the extent of the soil, made it comparatively easy for the agricultural labourers to acquire freedom, and transmute themselves into burghers. In other countries, however, serfdom still continued; and it required more general acts of enfranchisement to lead to its abolition. One of the earliest acts of this kind, was an edict of Louis X. of France (1315) to the following effect:—'As, according to the law of nature, each must be born free, and as, by some usages and customs which have been anciently introduced, and are still preserved in this kingdom, and peradventure by the fault of our predecessors, many of our common people have fallen into servitude and divers conditions which very much displease us, we, considering that our kingdom is called the kingdom of the Franks

(freemen), upon deliberation with our great council, have ordered, and do order, that generally, throughout our kingdom, so far as may belong to us and our successors, such servitudes be brought back to freedom; and that to all those who are fallen, or may fall, into bonds of servitude, freedom be given on good and fitting conditions.' These conditions were 'reasonable composition' to be given to proprietors for the loss of the servitudes; and the king set the example by enfranchising the serfs on the royal domains on such conditions. The example, according as it did with the spirit and tendency of the age, was followed by the French nobles, and also in other kingdoms; and the movement thus begun was doubtless much assisted by the spontaneous efforts of the peasantry, as shewn in such risings as the *Jacquerie* in France (1350–1360), and the insurrection of Wat Tyler and the men of Kent in England (1381). Gradually, therefore, serfs were enfranchised in all the Germanic countries; although in some parts of Northern Europe, and even in Britain, there were traces of personal serfdom as late as the seventeenth century. In the Slavonian countries, the example was not followed; serfdom existed in Poland till its downfall in the eighteenth century; in Hungary, serfdom existed till very recently; and it still exists in full force in Russia.

322. By such means as we have indicated, the feudal system of society had been gradually undermined in Europe, and there arose on its ruins that system of territorial monarchies which has descended, with modifications, to our own times. The change went on contemporaneously, and by very similar steps, in all parts of Europe. The epoch of its complete accomplishment was the latter half of the fifteenth century, when royalty was represented in almost every country by sovereigns of unusual capacity and astuteness—in Spain, by Ferdinand and Isabella; in Portugal, by John II.; in France, by Charles VII., Louis XI., and Charles VIII.; in England, by Henry VII.; in Scotland, by James IV.; in Germany, by the Hapsburg or Austrian princes, Frederick III., and his son Maximilian I.; in Hungary, by Matthias I.; in Poland, by Casimir;

and in Russia, by Ivan III. The fact that Europe then presented such a cluster of able princes, and that the genius of some of the most distinguished of them—such as Ferdinand of Spain, Louis XI. of France, Henry VII. of England, and Frederick III. of Germany—was of the same crafty and statesman-like stamp, may be taken as a proof that the triumph of territorial royalty everywhere at that period was a necessary phase in the gradual evolution of modern society. Even in Italy, the land of small republics and of territorial subdivision, the same tendency to royalty manifested itself. Thus, in Lombardy, the republics passed under the rule of the Dukes of Milan, and other powerful families; in Florence, the Medici attained the mastery; and in the Papal States, the government was first consolidated into a true secular royalty by Nicholas V., and his successors in the papacy.

323. Although in every country the government was thus centralised in the persons of the kings, and society parted, as it were, into the two elements of royalty and the people, or subjects of royalty, yet, of necessity, the kings were only the visible representatives of a power which was still diffused through the communities. Not only had the nobles, in virtue of their rank, an influence as real, if not so legally absolute, as they had formerly exercised; not only were the burghs in various countries, and especially in England and Germany, independent centres of local government, but even in the formal government of countries by their kings, reference to the popular will was an essential part of the system. The age of the complete development of the system of territorial or national monarchies is also the age when the first germs of constitutional or parliamentary government sprang into existence. In England, the *parliaments;* in Germany, the *diets;* in France, the assemblies of the *states-general;* and in Spain, the *corteses*—all date their regular organisation from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In their origin, these assemblies were identical—they were, at first, nothing more than the great councils of the kings, in which they took advice with their chief nobles in matters of importance. When the kings, however, ceased to be

mere suzerains, and became hereditary magistrates and legislators, charged with the weal of all ranks within their realms, the constitution of these councils was extended, and representatives of the inferior proprietors or gentry, as well as of the burghs, were summoned to attend them, along with the prelates and great nobles. This honour was so little esteemed by the gentry and burghers, that they regarded it in the light of a burden, and sought to be relieved from it. But as it was in these parliaments, states-general, or whatever they were called, that supplies of money were voted to the kings, the gentry and burghers were obliged, in defence of their own interests, to take part in the proceedings. At first, their parliamentary functions were limited to debates on these questions of supply and taxation; but soon it became a recognised practice of the commons in every nation, to make the votes of supply an opportunity for demanding redress of grievances, and legislative acts in their favour. Thus, by little and little, parliaments and parliamentary procedure assumed a regular form. The kings were expected to summon them at certain intervals, or on certain emergencies; certain districts or shires were expected to send representatives on the part of the lesser proprietors, and certain towns, representatives on the part of the burghers, while the higher nobles and prelates attended in person; and when all had assembled on the appointed day, they divided into two or more Houses or Chambers, to consider the questions that were to be laid before them. In England, the practice ultimately was to divide into two chambers—the one consisting of peers, temporal and spiritual; the other, of the representatives of the commons and inferior gentry—the inferior clergy having voluntarily abandoned the right, or escaped from the burden, of being represented. In the states-general of France, the cortes of Spain, and the German diets, the arrangement was into three chambers. The diets of Hungary and Poland were substantially the same, except that in these countries only the caste of nobles exercised parliamentary functions. In Russia, there was no proper parliament or diet, but only a council of nobles or boyards.

324. The parliaments, corteses, diets, or states-general, concerned themselves only with matters of domestic legislation and administration; and the management of foreign affairs, or relations between country and country, was left to the kings and their private advisers. Thus there sprang up, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that diplomatic system, or secret method of conducting international business, which still exists. Kings and governments kept ambassadors at each other's courts, for the purpose of observing and reporting what was going on in them; their reports were considered by the kings and their cabinets, and all resulting questions of war, peace, and alliance, were determined by royal prerogative, without consulting the parliaments. It was only by having the command of the supplies necessary for war, that the commons possessed any check upon the foreign policy of their sovereigns. If a king incurred a heavy bill for war, the Commons could refuse to pay it, or, in paying it, could compel the king and his advisers to make disclosures as to the mode in which it had been contracted.

325. II. History of the Church.—In addition to those facts in the history of the church already mentioned in connection with the history of the Roman States, as the seat of the papacy, there are certain others, referring to the period under notice, which deserve particular attention. These are—the establishment of the various orders of friars, as a new ecclesiastical body, distinct from either the monks or the secular clergy; the establishment and progress of the Inquisition; and the commencement and progress of a general movement for the reformation of the church.

326. *Establishment of the various Orders of Friars.*—Among the immediate effects of the Crusades, was an immense increase of religious enthusiasm in the mind of Europe. When the feelings of all men were stirred to their depths by enterprises for the recovery of the Holy Land, it was natural that they should inquire whether the church at home was all that it might be. The condition of the monasteries attracted especial attention. Many of these establishments were immensely wealthy, and had

vast means of doing good, while their inmates were leading lazy, luxurious, and worldly lives. The higher secular clergy, too, were rolling in misapplied wealth; and only the poor parish priests were, as a body, true to their spiritual office as preachers and guides of men's souls. In these circumstances, it became a subject of inquiry with many, whether some means could not be devised for infusing fresh spirit and vigour into the church. Among those who felt this desire were the popes; and the means to which they had recourse was the establishment of new religious orders. Till the pontificate of Gregory VII., the only monastic order recognised by the Catholic Church was that of St Benedict (see § 99), and all the monasteries of all countries of the West belonged to this order, under one or other of its subdivisions; just as in the East, all the monasteries followed the rule of St Basil. Gregory VII. founded a new order—that of Grammont in Limosin (1078); and this was succeeded by two others —the order of Chartreux, and that of St Anthony.

327. The Friars, or Mendicant orders (friar, from the French *frère*, meaning brother) were different from any of these orders of monks. The first of the Mendicant orders was that of the Dominicans—called also Black Friars, from the colour of their robes—founded by a Spaniard, Dominic de Guzman, in the pontificate of Innocent III. (1215). The next was the order of the Franciscans, founded by a wild Italian mystic of humble birth, called Francisco or Francis (1218): they were named also Gray Friars or Cordeliers. The success of these two orders was such, that imitations of them sprang up everywhere. As many as twenty-one orders, in addition to the Black and the Gray Friars, were in existence before 1274; but in that year, in consequence of the abuses which their number created, Pope Gregory X. consolidated all the orders into four—the Dominicans, or Black Friars; the Franciscans, or Gray Friars; the Augustines; and the Carmelites, or White Friars. The rules of these four orders differed in some respects; but all of them had certain characters in common. Like the monks, they took vows of celibacy and devotion to the church; but, unlike the monks, they

were not to seclude themselves, but were to roam about as itinerant preachers, mixing with the people, and living upon their voluntary alms. So popular were they at first, and with such fervour did they fulfil their self-imposed duties as preachers, that they cast both the monks and the secular clergy quite into the shade. They were the very soul of the church; and the popes, seeing this, made them their instruments and allies. The Mendicant Friars were formally exempted from ordinary church rule, and were licensed to go about where they chose, and to perform all the offices of religion without being answerable to bishops or abbots, or any authority except that of the pope himself. Thus the religious zeal of the Mendicants was placed at the disposal of the papacy; and their cardinal doctrine was the absolute supremacy of the popes. Overspreading all the countries of Europe, and carrying all before them by their ardour, they preached Catholicism in its most intense form, and rapidly monopolised all the functions of the clergy. At first, their activity was as beneficial as it was earnest. Latterly, however, they degenerated; their piety waned; and they became a pest wherever they went, usurping the functions of the ordinary clergy, working their way into schools and universities, and collecting large sums from the people by begging and the sale of pardons.

328. *Rise of the Inquisition.*—The practice of seeking out and punishing heretics had existed in the church as early as the fourth century; and there was hardly a country in Europe that had not witnessed the persecution and execution of heretics. The Crusades, however, greatly increased the activity of the church in this kind of work. It was thought as meritorious to hunt down heretics at home, as to make war on Mohammedans abroad. In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the popes and the local ecclesiastical tribunals delighted in nothing so much as in drawing up lists of heresies condemned by the past decrees of the church, and urging the persecution of persons holding these heresies, wherever they were found. Jews, and such sectaries as the Albigenses in southern France, became the victims of systematic

persecution. The custom at first was for the bishop or vicar of a locality to summon before him any person accused of heresy, to interrogate him, and counsel him, and if he found him tractable, to absolve him; but if he found him obdurate, or if he relapsed, to hand him over to the civil power for punishment. Such a process, however, was found too slow and uncertain against such heretical communities as the Albigenses; and, accordingly, about the year 1215, Pope Innocent III. appointed an Inquisitorial Commission, consisting of two legates, with a number of monks, to go into southern France, and speed on the work of extermination. One of the most active agents of this commission was the Spanish St Dominic, founder of the order of the Dominican Friars. Many persons were condemned to death; and the Inquisition continued its operations till the Albigenses were crushed.

329. It was not only in France, however, that heresy existed. Italy itself was full of heretics, of whom no fewer than fifteen denominations were enumerated as existing in 1228 in the city of Milan alone. To root out these heretics in Milan, in Lombardy, in Venice, in Naples, and in Rome, various popes, successors of Innocent III., followed his example, and appointed temporary Inquisitorial Commissions. From various circumstances, the Dominican Friars were found the most efficient agents of the papacy in this capacity; and, accordingly, these friars generally united the functions of itinerant preachers with those of inquisitors. In every city and state of Italy, a tribunal of Dominicans was planted by consent of the civil authorities; and those Dominicans, acting directly as papal agents, relieved the resident bishops and clergy of that portion of their work, which consisted in looking after the orthodoxy of their flocks. Regular codes were prepared for the guidance of the inquisitorial courts in the trial of heretics, regulating, among other things, the mode of examining the suspected, and the mode of inflicting torture to make them confess. Besides heretics, these courts were empowered to proceed against blasphemers, relapsed Jews or Mohammedans,

witches and wizards, polygamists, and other such offenders against the laws of the church. Their business was a bloody one. In Como alone, no fewer than 300 persons were burnt in the year 1416; and 100 was about the annual number burned in that single diocese out of about 1000 brought to trial. Elsewhere, the Inquisition was equally active; and the entire number of persons burned to death in Italy for heresy or witchcraft, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries defies calculation.

330. The Inquisition extended into other countries still under the agency of the Dominican Friars. In some countries, indeed—such as England, where the rulers were reluctant to admit such a power of life and death wielded by servants of the pope—the institution did not take root; and the business of dealing with heresy was left to the ordinary clergy. After Italy, the country where the Inquisition obtained the firmest hold was Spain. It was here, too, that it developed itself into its modern and best known form. In 1477, Ferdinand and Isabella were persuaded by some Dominicans, already engaged as inquisitors, to apply to the pope for the establishment of a special inquisition for the purpose of punishing relapsed Jews. Spain was then full of these 'New Christians,' as they were called—that is, of Jews who, having been constrained by policy to profess Christianity, were supposed still to be Jews at heart, and secretly to practise Jewish rites. After some delay, the Inquisition was appointed. So dreadful were its severities, that even the popes interfered and recommended mildness. At length, however, the Inquisition was established in Spain on a permanent basis, the popes surrendering the entire conduct of it to an inquisitor-general appointed for life, against whose decisions there was to be no appeal. The first of these terrible functionaries was a Dominican monk, named Thomas de Torquemada, raised to the office in 1483. Under him, 'the Modern or Spanish Inquisition,' as it is called, assumed a regular organisation; and it is owing to the terrible power exercised by Torquemada and the line of inquisitors-general, his successors, that Spain

has been for three centuries the most Catholic country in Europe.

331. *Movement for a Reform in the Church.*—As there had never been a time in the history of the church when there had not been evidences of a dissatisfied and reforming spirit within her own pale, so after the period of the Crusades this spirit became more apparent. The old controversy between the papal and the civil power was not at an end. The popes had apparently succeeded in their aim of universal dominion; but in every country a sentiment of nationality was at work hostile to papal interference within its limits. Kings and civil rulers felt this sentiment most strongly; but after the establishment of the orders of Mendicant Friars, the clergy began to feel it too. English, German, and French bishops were indignant at seeing their dioceses overrun by these fanatical emissaries of the pope, over whom, by the pope's own decrees, they could exert no power. Thus among the aristocratic clergy of all countries, there arose a party hostile to the extreme pretensions of the papacy, and anxious for a reform, which, contracting the authority of the popes within certain fixed limits, should place a larger share of the government of the church in national or general councils.

332. This general aspiration existing within the church herself for some kind of reform, was greatly increased by those two great facts in the history of the papacy—the Babylonish Captivity, or residence of the popes at Avignon, from 1305 to 1376; and the Great Schism, or disruption of the papacy, from 1378 to 1417. Such a spectacle of anarchy as the church presented at this period, could not but produce an agitation of a very serious kind. A universal demand arose for a great council, to consist of clergy of all nations, to consider the affairs of the church. Many learned men and doctors, among whom the most famous was a French ecclesiastic named Gerson, published and spoke in favour of a new organisation of the church, which should subordinate the papacy to the authority of General Councils. At length, in 1414, after various abortive attempts to give effect to these ideas,

the famous Council of Constance was convened at the instance of the German Emperor Sigismund. This great assembly, which consisted of clerical delegates from all parts of Christendom, entered on the work of reform with ardour. After deposing the rival popes, who were dividing the allegiance of the church, they began to inquire into all the more flagrant abuses, and the mode of remedying them. There was a strong Romanist party in the assembly, however, who mooted the question, whether the council could go forward in a scheme of reform without the sanction of a pope, as head of the church. The Romanists, assisted by the more timid of the other party, carried the question in the negative; and, as a preliminary to further proceedings, the council elected Martin V. to the papacy. This pope drew up a scheme of reform, which was rejected as unsatisfactory; and the council was dissolved. A similar want of success attended a subsequent council convened at Basle in 1431, and whose sittings lasted, with various migrations from place to place, till 1449. Thus the movement for reform, set on foot by the aristocracy of the church itself, accomplished no one definite object; and its only results were indirectly to increase the conviction that something must be done, and to disseminate the idea that the true mode of reform would be to subject the pope to the authority of the clergy at large, as represented in synods and councils.

333. While this aristocratic movement for church reform was going on to its unsuccessful issue, a fiercer and deeper movement in the same direction was agitating some parts of Europe. This movement touched not only the political constitution of the church, but also her doctrines in matters of faith. England was its first theatre. Here, as in other countries, a liberal or reforming party arose in the church, hostile to the claims of the papacy over the national revenues and the rights of the crown, and opposed to the influence of the Mendicant Friars, who swarmed in the rural districts and at the universities. A prominent man of this party was John de Wycliffe, professor of theology at Oxford,

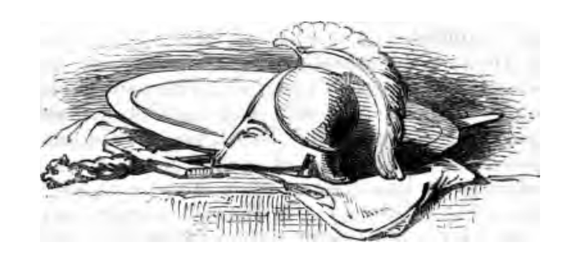
and priest of a parish in the same neighbourhood. Wycliffe, who was born in 1324 in Yorkshire, was a man of great learning, energy, and eloquence, and had made himself conspicuous by his attacks on the begging-friars, and his defence of the rights of the crown and parliament of England against the papal claims of supremacy. Gradually, however, he pushed his views much further, and broached doctrines contrary to the usual teaching of the church on such points as the Eucharist, the observance of saints' days, excommunication, the right of the laity to think for themselves, the worship of images and relics, prayer for the dead, and the right of the state to dispose of church-property. He was taken to task for these opinions by the Romanist prelates, and was twice summoned to London, to answer for them before synods of the clergy; but being assisted by a powerful party at the court, headed by the royal Duke of Lancaster, he escaped with impunity, and spent the latter part of his life peacefully as parish priest of Lutterworth. Here he employed himself indefatigably in writing pamphlets, which were distributed through the country; in corresponding with numerous younger men who had embraced his doctrines; and in translating the Bible into English. His writings attacked the very foundations of the papacy; and when he died in 1384, he left the English mind pervaded by a new system of doctrine, which, under the name of Wycliffism, or Lollardism, was in many respects identical with modern Protestantism.

334. At that time there was a connection, by royal intermarriage, between England and Bohemia; which country, besides being a European kingdom, was also an integral portion of the German Empire. Some of Wycliffe's writings found their way into Bohemia, and were read by John Huss, a Bohemian priest, born in 1370. The consequence was, that many of Wycliffe's opinions were embraced by Huss, who publicly preached them in Prague, both in the pulpit and the university. Being favoured by the king and queen, and backed also by the national feeling of the Bohemians, who were

jealous of German influence, Huss, and his able disciple, Jerome of Prague, were able to defy the Romanists who sought to call them to account. For about ten years, Prague was a scene of perpetual contests between the Romanists and the Reformers, the latter having the direction of the university. At length, on the assembling of the Council of Constance in 1414, the attention of the whole church was directed to this Bohemian revolt. Though itself bent on a reform of the church, this council viewed with alarm a movement which went so much further in that direction than it wished or contemplated. Huss was cited to appear before it; and, trusting to a safe-conduct granted to him by the Emperor Sigismund, he complied. The council condemned his opinions and those of Wycliffe as false and heretical; and, in spite of the safe-conduct which guaranteed his return, the intrepid Bohemian was imprisoned, and afterwards burnt to death. His disciple, Jerome of Prague, shared the same fate; and thus the Council of Constance, instead of reforming the church, did its best to stifle such symptoms of reform as had spontaneously appeared.

335. Wycliffism or Lollardism in England, and Hussism in Bohemia, were too widely spread, however, to be destroyed by the decree of a council. During the fifteenth century, Lollardism was so active in England, that it required all the exertions of the Romanist prelates and the kings to keep it from obtaining the mastery. A kind of Inquisition, less formal than that of Spain, was established in England; Lollards were sought out, and burnt in considerable numbers; and it was not till the reign of Henry VII. that they were overawed into silence. In his reign, and in that of his son Henry VIII., there was a large mass of dormant or secret Lollardism in English society, more particularly among the citizens of London. Nor was Hussism less difficult to uproot in Bohemia. Enraged at the death of their leader, the Hussites broke out into open rebellion against the German emperor. They found a general in one of their number, John Ziska, a man of extraordinary military abilities. They took Prague and other towns, and threatened to

detach Bohemia altogether, both from the German Confederacy and from the Catholic Church. Sigismund poured his imperial forces into the country, but they were again and again defeated by Ziska. Meanwhile, war stimulating their fanaticism, the Hussites broke up into various sects, some of which are accused of very wild excesses. After the death of Ziska, the imperialists were more successful; but still the Hussites resisted, and when at length, in 1437, peace was concluded, it was on terms which guaranteed various religious privileges to the Bohemians, such as were conceded in no other part of Catholic Europe.



HISTORY OF THE EAST: THE PROGRESS OF MARITIME DISCOVERY.

336. At the close of the thirteenth century, we left the East divided politically into three parts—the restored *Greek* or *Byzantine* Empire of the Palæologi, comprehending Thrace, the Greek countries proper, and part of Asia Minor; the *Mohammedan* dominions of the Turks, embracing the rest of Asia Minor, with Syria and Egypt, the Mamelukes of Egypt being the strongest of the Turkish dynasties; and the great *Mongol* Empire of Kublai Khan, extending from Russia and the Black Sea to China. We have now further to trace the relations of these powers, and the revolutions to which the East was subjected by their conflicts, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

337. The restored Byzantine Empire, founded by Michael Palæologus in 1260, soon betrayed its inherent weakness, and its tendency to disorder. The reign of Andronicus II., the son of Michael (1283–1328), was, notwithstanding his abilities, one long scene of confusion and distraction, occasioned partly by intrigues within the empire, partly by attacks upon it both by the Western powers and the Mohammedans. Still, there was so much vitality in the Greek race, that if the empire had encountered only ordinary difficulties, it might have survived and prospered. At this time, however, a new conquering power arose in the East, before whose attacks not only the Greek Empire, but many other states, were destined to fall. This was the power of the *Osmanlis*, or *Ottoman Turks*.

338. Among the petty Turkish emirs or chieftains who, on the subversion of the power of the Seljuk sultans in Roum by the Mongol invasions, shared their territories with the conquerors, was one called Othman or Ottoman.

Part of Bithynia, and the whole country round Mount Olympus, came into his possession; but uniting with other Turkish chieftains, he began, in the reign of the Greek Emperor Andronicus II., to encroach upon the Grecian frontier. Prusa, the capital of Bithynia, fell into his hands, and was made the capital of a considerable Turkish dominion in Asia Minor (1327). His son and successor, Orchan, enlarged this dominion by compelling other Turkish emirs in Asia Minor to recognise him as sultan. He also sent his forces across the Hellespont, took possession of Gallipoli, in Thrace (1358), and thus opened a passage for the Turks into Europe. The feeble Byzantine emperors, Andronicus III. (1328–1341) and John I. (1341–1391), in vain attempted to resist these formidable enemies. Thrace and Greece were inundated by the victorious Ottomans, who openly proclaimed their design of pushing their conquests still further into the Christian world. The Sultan Amurath, or Murad I., the successor of Orchan, continued the war against the Greeks so effectually as to reduce the Greek emperor to the necessity of giving hostages. Nothing of the Byzantine Empire remained to the House of Palæologus except a corner of Thrace, about 1500 miles square, in the vicinity of Constantinople; all the rest was a prey to the Ottomans. To Amurath is attributed an action of much importance in Turkish history—the formation of the corps of the Janizaries. Selecting the stoutest and most active young men from among the prisoners he had taken in Bulgaria, Servia, Albania, and Bosnia, he caused them to embrace the Mohammedan religion, and to be carefully trained in all military exercises. A body of splendid infantry was thus formed, which, being consecrated and blessed by a celebrated dervish, received the name of *Yenicheri*, or 'New Soldiers.' Being well paid, and treated with high distinction, these Janizaries entered into the new service with enthusiasm; they were more fanatical Mohammedans than the native Turks; and they attached themselves to the sultans with a kind of filial devotion and gratitude. Their numbers were kept up by drafting select young captives into their ranks, such

captives being found preferable for the purpose to Turkish youths.

339. The exploits of Amurath were eclipsed by those of his son, the celebrated Sultan Bajazet I., surnamed Ilderim, or 'Lightning' (1389–1402). This able but cruel Ottoman, whose name indicates the rapidity of his movements, completed the subjugation of the Turkish commanders who yet disputed the dominion of Asia Minor. He reduced the Greek emperor to the condition of a tributary. He then aimed at the subjugation of Hungary and the eastern parts of the German Empire; and defeated Sigismund, king of Hungary, and a large Christian army, consisting of the flower of German and French chivalry, sent to oppose the inroads of the Ottomans (1396). No fewer than 10,000 prisoners, taken in this battle, were massacred by the orders of Bajazet. The Ottomans overran Hungary and the adjacent countries, and Bajazet was master of an Ottoman empire extending from the Danube to the Euphrates. He was preparing to conquer Constantinople, and so destroy the last relics of Christian rule in the East, when a new conqueror appeared to contest his glory and check his career.

340. On the death of Kublai Khan (1294), the immense empire of the Mongols was broken into four main divisions, each governed by a khan at the head of a Mongol horde. Persia, and other parts of South-western Asia, fell to one race of khans; Russia and Tatary were governed by the Kiptchak Khans, or Khans of the Golden Horde; China formed an empire by itself; and the rest of the Mongolian dominions in Asia belonged to the khans of Zagatai. These divisions were still further subdivided. Among the Mongol chieftains who divided the empire of the dynasty of Zagatai, was a young warrior named Timour, or Tamerlane. Timour, who combined the character of a religious enthusiast with that of a conqueror, commenced his exploits in Transoxiana at the age of twenty-seven. He soon subdued all the other emirs of the Zagatai, united their dominions under his rule, and established the capital of a new Mongol empire at Samarcand (1369). Conquest after conquest

increased his empire—Turkestan and Western Tatary were subdued by him in 1383; Persia in 1393; and eastern Upper Asia shortly afterwards. He then turned his arms southwards against Hindostan. A Mongol army of 92,000 horse invaded Hindostan, and committed terrible ravages. Returning to Samarcand after a partial conquest of India, he next turned his thoughts towards Western Asia and Europe, where it provoked him to see Bajazet and the Ottomans rivalling his own exploits, though on a smaller scale. He attacked the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire; and Bajazet, abandoning the siege of Constantinople, which he had already begun, marched to oppose him. The two armies met at Angora; and a great battle took place, in which the Ottomans were routed. Bajazet surrendered to the conqueror, who carried him away to the East, where he died (1403). Timour, now undisputed lord of all the ancient Mongol dominions in Asia, with the exception of China, was preparing an expedition into that country, when death removed him (1405).

341. The victories of Tamerlane caused a temporary cessation in the wars of the Ottomans against the miserable remainder of the Greek Empire, and against the eastern portions of Europe. The succession to the Ottoman Empire was disputed by the sons of Bajazet; but at length one of them, Mohammed I., secured the sultanship, which he left to his son Amurath II. This sultan renewed the conquests of his grandfather, Bajazet, making expeditions into Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece, and even commencing the siege of Constantinople (1422). His further progress in Europe was only arrested by the incessant efforts of the two Christian heroes, John Hunniades of Hungary, and Scanderbeg, a Greek prince of Albania, who devoted their lives to the task of saving the lands of the Danube from being overrun by the Ottomans. On the accession, however, of Mohammed II., the son of Amurath, to the Ottoman throne (1451), the power of the Turks carried all before it. This great warrior, whose name is one of the most celebrated in Turkish history, resolved to direct his strength, in the first place, to the one enterprise of the capture of Constantinople. The throne of this city, with

what relics of the Greek Empire were attached to it, was then occupied by Constantine Palæologus, the seventh and last emperor of the House of the Palæologi. Surrounded by Ottomans, Constantinople was cut off from all communication with the West except by Genoese and Venetian cruisers. With an army of 300,000, and 300 ships, Mohammed appeared before the city on the 6th of April 1453, and began the siege. The Greeks, though with hardly any assistance from the West, made a brave defence. On the 29th of May, however, the city was taken by storm, Constantine perishing in the assault; and Mohammed entered in triumph. So terrible was the sack, that the city was left a dismal solitude; and in order to repeople it, the conqueror guaranteed to the subjugated Greeks full liberty of conscience, and allowed them to elect a new patriarch.

342. The taking of Constantinople by the Turks is an epoch in modern history. From that day to this, the Turkish or Ottoman Empire has been one of the recognised powers of the world. Mohammed II. may be considered as the founder of this empire. The taking of Constantinople was his great exploit, but the new empire was not completed till various other enterprises were undertaken and carried to an end. Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Greece Proper, the Peloponnesus, and almost all the islands of the Grecian Archipelago, were definitively brought under the Ottoman rule; and certain portions of the Greek Empire on the coast of the Black Sea, which were the last to maintain their independence, were also brought into subjection. Only in the island of Rhodes, which was occupied by the Knights of St John, did the arms of Mohammed meet a repulse. Mohammed died in 1481, and the succession was disputed by his sons Bajazet II. and Zizim, the former of whom acquired the ascendancy. During his reign (1481–1512), the Turks continued their attacks on Europe with more or less success. Bajazet was dethroned, and poisoned by one of his sons, Selim, who at the same time massacred a number of his relatives and their adherents. This sultan considerably extended the Ottoman Empire. He

made war against Persia, and took possession of Mesopotamia and Curdistan; and he invaded Syria and Egypt, then governed by the Mamelukes, entered the city of Cairo, and slew about 50,000 of its inhabitants, including the Mameluke Sultan Toomaun Beg (1516). By these conquests, the Ottoman Empire was extended over nearly all the countries in Asia, formerly subject to the Arabian caliphate, besides including portions of Europe never comprehended in that empire.

343. The great Ottoman Empire, thus founded in the fifteenth century by a succession of warriors of the same stock, consisted geographically of two parts—Turkey in Europe, and Turkey in Asia, both governed by the sultan from his capital of Constantinople. The organisation of the empire was on the plan usual in empires established by conquest. The conquering race, or the Turks proper, were distributed in garrisons and military colonies through the subject populations—that is, in Europe, among the native Greeks, Slavonians, and Wallachians, inhabiting the lands between the Adriatic on the one side, and the Black Sea and the Ægean on the other; and in Asia, among the numerous populations—Greeks, Arabs, Syrians, &c.—lying east of the Ægean and the Mediterranean, as far as the Caspian and the confines of Persia. For the purposes of government, the empire was divided into eyalets, or provinces, each governed by a pasha, or military commander, in the name of the sultan; and the eyalets were further subdivided into sanjaks, or districts, governed by inferior Turkish officers. This arrangement, with some modifications, has continued to the present time, when the Turkish Empire is said to count twenty-eight provinces in all—four in Europe, and twenty-four in Asia. The condition of each province depended very much on the character of the Turkish pasha appointed to govern it: where the pasha was just and able, the inhabitants enjoyed as much security as was compatible with the superiority of the Turks over the other races; but where the pasha was ruthless and exacting, the inhabitants were subject to much suffering. Certain regulations, however, applicable to the whole empire, were

from time to time issued from Constantinople, as the seat of Turkish legislation. The sultan was absolute ruler; but he was bound to issue only such laws as were in conformity with the Koran, which book, according to the notions of the Mohammedans, was not only the repository of all religious truth, but also the compendium of all law and polity. As expounders of the Koran, the muftis and ulemas were the advisers of the sultan, who could also, like any other sovereign, admit other ministers to his counsels.

344. Next to the difference of races exhibited in the Turkish Empire, where a medley of peoples—Greeks, Slavonians, Wallachians, Albanians, Curds, Syrians, Arabs, and Egyptians—were kept in order by the military supremacy of some millions of Turks dispersed among them, the most important feature of the empire was the distinction of religions. The Turks, of course, were Mohammedans; and a great portion of their Asiatic subjects—as, for example, the Syrians, the Arabs, the Egyptians, and the peoples in the interior of Asia Minor—were also of the same faith, which, as we know, had prevailed in these lands before the Turks had come into them. On the other hand, all the European subjects of the Turks, and a considerable part of their Asiatic subjects, were Christians. Of these Christians, moreover, there were two classes. A majority, having been subjects of the Greek Empire till the Turks destroyed it, were followers of the Greek or Eastern Church; but a good number were Latin Christians or Catholics, adhering to the doctrines of the Western Church, and regarding the pope as their spiritual head. This conflict of religions in the Ottoman Empire was, and is, a source of much confusion. The Turks, naturally a proud and taciturn race, were more fanatical Mohammedans than even the Arabs, from whom they had derived their Mohammedanism; and they looked down with contempt on the Rayahs, or Christians, whom they regarded as idolators. Hence the Christians were not only subjected to perpetual insults at the hands of their Mohammedan fellow-subjects, but were under a kind of civil degradation

or disqualification on account of their religion; their evidence was not received in Turkish law-courts, and they were excluded from all places of political authority. With these exceptions, however, their religion was tolerated; they were allowed to elect their own patriarchs in Antioch and Constantinople, and to perform all their religious rites in their own fashion. Indeed, it was said that the Latin and Greek Christians were more vehement in their mutual hatred, than the Turks were in their hatred of both.

345. Though a stolid and unimpressible race of men, and not nearly so supple and clever as the races they had conquered, especially the Greeks and the Semitic peoples, the Turks possessed certain sturdy virtues qualifying them to bear rule. One of the most conspicuous of these virtues was truthfulness. At the present day, it is remarked by Eastern travellers, that the word of a Turk is more to be relied on than that of either a Greek or an Arab. A kind of dogged courage and power of command also characterises the Turks. A Turkish boy, playing with the other boys, Greek or Arab, in an Eastern village, is no match for them in address or talk; but he can kick and cuff them, and make them do what he wants. Counterbalancing these elements of power in the Turkish character, are their sensuality and their intellectual obstinacy. The custom of polygamy, so general in the East, has been carried to a greater excess by the Turks than by almost any other Oriental people. They have also shewn themselves adverse to political or intellectual improvement. Schools and colleges were established among them by Mohammed II., and some of their subsequent sultans have also shewn an interest in letters and education; but, on the whole, the Ottomans have remained strangers to social progress, ruling their subject populations as at first—not by means of laws and institutions devised to promote their welfare, but only by the strong arm of superior military force.

346. While the Ottoman Empire was establishing itself in Western Asia and Eastern Europe, the vast regions

of Eastern Asia were undergoing various political revolutions. On the death of Tamerlane (1405), the great Mongol Empire which he had founded was split into fragments, some portions of it remaining in the hands of the family of Tamerlane, while others became a prey to such chiefs of the Mongol or Turkish races as were powerful enough to seize them. (1.) The possession of the important country of PERSIA, whose history had for some centuries been bound up with that of the Mohammedan Empire, was contested by rival Turkoman races till about the year 1502, when Ismael Shah, a chieftain who traced his descent from the ancient Arabian Caliph Ali, founded a new dynasty of Persian rulers called the Sophi Dynasty. He introduced the red cap, since worn by the Persians; whence the name Kuzzilbash, or Red-caps, by which they are still known in the East. In his reign, also, the Persians definitively adopted a form of the Mohammedan faith known by the name of the *Sheah* Creed, and stigmatised as heterodox by the professors of the *Sooni*, or more orthodox form of doctrine. This difference of faith has been one of the causes of the traditional enmity between the Ottomans and the Persians—an enmity which existed in the reign of Ismael, and occasioned many wars between him and Selim, the contemporary Ottoman sultan. (2.) The history of INDIA at this period was very analogous to that of Persia. Divided, previous to the invasion of Tamerlane, into a number of Mohammedan states, the country was temporarily united by the invasion of this conqueror; but after his death it relapsed into its former condition of disunion, till the appearance of a new Asiatic conqueror, named Baber. This remarkable man was born in 1483, and was the son of a sultan of a small province on the Jaxartes, who traced his descent to Tamerlane. After various vicissitudes, Baber rose to the position of a powerful chief among the Tatars and Mongols of Western Asia, and resolved on the conquest of Hindostan. This great enterprise he accomplished, after various attempts, about the year 1526, rapidly subduing all the Indian populations and their Mohammedan rulers, from the

Indus to the Ganges, and bequeathing to his descendants that Indian Empire which lasted till nearly our own times under the somewhat incorrect name of the Mogul Empire, or the Empire of the Great Mogul. The capital of this empire was Delhi. Baber died in 1530. He was a man of great literary accomplishments, and of frank, gay, and generous spirit, and left behind him an account of his own life, written in his native dialect of the Turkish language, and full of the most graphic and interesting details. (3.) The great and civilised country of CHINA had, as we have seen, formed part of the Mongol Empire of Kublai Khan. For about eighty years after his death, it remained in the possession of one of the lines of his descendants; but in the reign of the ninth of these Mongol princes (1366), a native Chinese, named Ming, accomplished a revolution, deposed the Mongols, and founded a new dynasty which lasted for 300 years. The Mongol Tamerlane meditated an enterprise for the recovery of this part of the dominion of his ancestors, but died before he could prepare an invasion.

347. Such are the main facts in the history of the East, from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century—the extinction of the Greek or Byzantine Empire; the foundation of the Ottoman Empire; the dissolution of the first Mongol Empire of Genghis Khan and Kublai Khan; and the rise of new Mongol and other dynasties on its ruins. The same period, however, presents another set of important facts, belonging properly to the history of the East, though closely connected also with the history of the Western nations.

348. Till towards the close of the fifteenth century, the whole trade of Europe with the East was in the hands of the Venetians and the Genoese—the former receiving Eastern goods through Syria and Egypt; the latter, by the route connecting the far East with the Black Sea and Constantinople. The Venetians, however, had latterly obtained the commercial superiority, and almost driven the Genoese from the Eastern trade altogether. The conveyance of goods from the Eastern countries, such as

India and China, to the ports of the Levant and the Black Sea, where the Venetian or Genoese vessels received them, was to a great extent overland. Arab vessels, indeed, navigated the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, and there was thus a considerable sea-traffic with the East in that direction; but the extent of this trade was inferior to that of the trade carried on by the caravan tracks, which extended through the interior regions of Asia as far as China, spreading out branch-lines north and south. One of the results of the Crusades had been to awaken curiosity among the Europeans respecting these tracks, and the mysterious lands of silks, gums, precious stones, and spices, to which they led. In the year 1250, two brothers named Polo, Venetian traders, were at Constantinople in the ordinary pursuit of trade, when circumstances induced them to extend their travels further into the East. They penetrated as far as Bokhara; stayed there three years, trading and learning the language; and at last accompanied a mission which was on its way from Persia to the court of the great Kublai Khan, in Chinese-Tatary. Here they were well received by the Mongol monarch, who expressed himself as anxious to hold commercial and political relations with the peoples of the West; and, on their departure, gave them a letter to the pope, requesting him to send to the East 100 learned men, skilled in the arts and sciences of the West, and capable of introducing them into Asia. The brothers arrived safely at Venice in 1269, after an absence of nineteen years. The wife of one of them had died during his absence, leaving him a young son whom he had never seen, named Marco. The traders spread among their countrymen reports of the wonderful lands of the East which they had visited; but owing to an interregnum in the papacy, they were unable to fulfil Kublai's commission. They, therefore, set out again as private persons to the East, taking young Marco with them. While they were in Syria, the election of Gregory X. to the papacy took place; and the Polos delayed their journey, to have a conference with the pope, who approved of their enterprise, and sent two Dominican friars to

accompany them. In 1272, the travellers finally set out; but they had not gone far before the Dominicans were alarmed, and turned back. The three Polos persevered, and reached the court of Kublai Khan in 1275. Kublai received them most kindly, and conceived an especial liking for young Marco, whom he employed on various important missions. In one of these missions, Marco Polo visited China—the first European who had ever visited that country—and brought back accounts of it. After a lapse of sixteen years, the three Polos were allowed to accompany a mission sent by Kublai to conduct one of his female relatives by sea to Persia, where she was to be married to the khan of that country. Traversing China, and embarking at that part of the Chinese coast now called Fokien, they proceeded through the Straits of Malacca to Ceylon, and so to Persia through the Persian Gulf. Here they found the object of their mission foiled by the death of the Persian khan; and hearing about the same time that their patron, Kublai Khan, was dead, they thought it better to return to Europe. They arrived in Venice in 1295; and after some time, Marco compiled an account of his travels, which was read by many persons with great interest.

349. From that time Eastern Asia, or the East Indies, as the lands in that quarter were rather vaguely called, occupied much of the attention of the Western nations. The accounts of the Polos had made it known not only that those remote lands were very wealthy, but also that they were in a high degree civilised. By the help of Arabian and Chinese maps, which the Polos had brought home with them, other travellers penetrated into the same regions. The most zealous of these early Eastern explorers were Dominican missionaries and Venetian traders—the former, led by religious zeal; the latter, by the spirit of commerce.

350. Soon, however, a new nation appeared to rival the Venetians in commerce, and point out a new path to the East. This was the Portuguese. Till the year 1415, the Portuguese had been occupied with internal affairs, and had made no distinguished figure in general

history; but in that year their king, John the Bastard (§ 275), undertook a small crusade against the Moors of Africa, which begot a taste for maritime enterprise among his subjects. Prince Henry, the son of John, being a man of science and culture, encouraged this taste, and directed it to important ends. Establishing his residence at Cape St Vincent, he constructed vessels at his own expense, and sent them to explore the western coast of Africa—a region of discovery quite out of the track of the Venetians or any other European power. In 1420, the Portuguese discovered Madeira; in 1424, the Canaries (which were afterwards given over to Spain); in 1431, the Azores; and in 1460, Cape Verd. Navigating also along the coast of the African continent, they advanced gradually as far as Guinea. Growing bolder and more experienced with their success, they persevered in sailing further and further south, till at last, in the reign of John II., one of their admirals, Barthelemi Diaz, reached the Cape of Good Hope. The greatest feat of Portuguese navigation, however, was reserved for Vasco de Gama, who doubled this cape, sailed boldly out into the Indian Ocean, and landed (1498) on the western coast of India at the town of Calicut—thus *discovering the sea-route to the East Indies* at the very time when the downfall of the Greek Empire, and the establishment of the Turkish power in Western Asia, had rendered the overland communication more difficult than ever. Portuguese and Spanish navigators followed in the track of Vasco de Gama: in 1511, the Portuguese, under Alphonso Albuquerque, effected a settlement in India by the conquest of Goa; and the Spaniards about the same time began their commerce with the East India Islands. The intercourse of the Portuguese with China began in 1517. From this period, the Venetians were deprived of their monopoly of trade; they still were the carriers between the different ports of the Mediterranean, but the produce of the East was brought in Portuguese and Spanish ships round the African continent to Western Europe.

351. Almost exactly at the same time that the

Portuguese Vasco de Gama was opening the sea-passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, an Italian in the service of Spain was performing a navigation still more glorious in its results. Among the men whose imaginations were most deeply impressed by the accounts of the East Indies, which had been in circulation in Europe since the time of the Polos, was Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a Genoese mariner. Being a man of profound knowledge, as well as of daring enterprise, Columbus did not merely conceive a wish to visit these golden lands—he struck out an idea of his own as to the shortest way of reaching them. Knowing that the world was a globe, and also that its dimensions were not very great, he reasoned that it would be possible to arrive at the East Indies by sailing directly west. He was confirmed in his idea that land would be reached in that direction, by various traditions to that effect, and by the apparent improbability that so vast a tract of the surface of the earth, as seemed to lie between the west of Europe and the easternmost known parts of Asia, should be covered with mere waste ocean. Having matured his scheme, he carried it about with him from country to country, and from court to court, trying in vain to induce sovereigns and princes to fit out an expedition in order to test it. Laughed at as a foolish enthusiast, he clung to his idea with all the assurance of profound science, and all the pertinacity of genius. At length, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain were persuaded to give the notion a trial. On the 3d of August 1492, Columbus set out from the coast of Spain with three small vessels; and after a tedious voyage, during which the life of the bold navigator was threatened by the despairing crews, the New World was discovered. Owing to the track pursued, the lands first touched were not any parts of the American continent, but the West India islands of St Salvador, St Domingo, and Cuba. Columbus returned to announce to Europe his splendid discovery. He made several subsequent voyages, in one of which he touched the American mainland; but up to the moment of his death, he was under the impression that the lands he had discovered were a part of the East Indies. This

misconception was no discredit to his genius; his notion that by sailing west he would arrive at the East Indies, was perfectly true; only he underestimated the size of the earth, and met America on his way. The importance of this discovery of the New World, coupled with the fact that it was a discovery deliberately made in pursuit of an idea previously realised, and not by mere chance in pursuit of adventure, entitles Columbus to be regarded as one of the greatest men that have lived in the world.

352. The New World, having been discovered by a navigator in the Spanish service, was claimed as the possession of the Spanish crown. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine in the Spanish service, made several expeditions to the southern continent of America after 1497; and after him the continent was named. Allured by the hopes of finding gold-mines, or led by the spirit of adventure, numbers of Spaniards flocked over to the new lands; and between 1508 and 1510, the islands of Hayti or St Domingo, Cuba, and Jamaica, were colonised, the native Indians being reduced to slavery. In 1517, Mexico was discovered; and two years later, Hernando Cortez, a Spanish settler in Cuba, began the conquest of that part of the North American continent, then occupied by a native population, considerably advanced in civilisation, and governed by a native emperor named Montezuma. The gold-mines of this country were a source of great revenue to the Spanish crown, increased shortly afterwards by the discovery and conquest of Peru, in South America, by another Spanish adventurer, Francisco Pizarro (1526).

353. Meanwhile the coast of Brazil had been discovered by a Portuguese navigator, Alvarez Cabral, who had been blown far west during a voyage to the Cape of Good Hope (1500). Cabral took possession of the new land in the name of the king of Portugal. Thus arose a dispute between the sovereigns of Spain and those of Portugal, which was settled by a papal bull of Alexander VI., assigning all lands discovered more than 470 leagues west of the Azores, to Spain; and all within that distance, to Portugal. This partition was made by the pope as

spiritual and ecclesiastical lord of the whole earth, and absolute proprietor of all that belonged to heathens.

354. In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the first circumnavigation of the globe was performed in 1519–21, by Fernando Magalhaens or Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain. Having sailed to India once or twice, and traded with the East India Islands, Magellan revived the idea of Columbus, that these islands could be reached by sailing west. Intrusted with five ships for the purpose by Charles V. of Spain, he set out; coasted along Brazil; discovered the strait which now bears his name (October 1520); entered the Pacific Ocean, which he so named from the calm weather he experienced in it; arrived at the Ladrone Islands (March 1521); and discovered the important group of the Philippines, which he took possession of for Spain. He was killed in an expedition against a chief of one of these islands; but the circumnavigation was completed by his lieutenant, Del Cano, who sailed to the Moluccas, and thence by the Cape of Good Hope to Spain.



SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

ART, SCIENCE, AND LITERATURE, DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

355. The three periods of medieval history which we have now successively traversed, extending together from the middle of the sixth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, constitute what are called by historians the Middle Ages. The political movements and revolutions of these periods have been discussed; and information has been given respecting the general progress of society during each. Facts relating to the history of commerce have also been related in their due place. Comparatively little has been said, however, respecting the progress of the arts, of science, and of literature, during the eleven centuries which these periods embrace. This subject has been reserved for a supplementary chapter, where it may be treated in a more connected manner.

356. THE ARTS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.—The arts are divided into two groups or classes—the Industrial Arts, or the arts necessary to the sustenance and comfort of human life; and the Fine Arts, or the arts demanded by the human mind for the satisfaction of its higher and more spiritual wants.

357. I. *The Industrial Arts.*—The most important of these is agriculture, or the art of producing the raw material necessary for human food, and for other purposes; next in importance are the various arts of manufacture—such as weaving, carpentry, masonry, dyeing, metal-working, *pottery*, and leather-making.

358. The agriculture and husbandry of the middle ages were very rude as compared with our modern standard. The Romans, according to whose ideas farming was the natural and most honourable occupation of every free man, had made considerable progress in the arts of tillage and the rearing of livestock. From Latin treatises on husbandry which survive, it is clear that they understood, among other things, some of the principles of manuring, the rotation of crops, and the practice of letting lands lie fallow to recover their fertility. If, in the later ages of the Roman Empire, agriculture languished, and lands fell out of cultivation, this was owing not to want of skill, but to various social causes; among which, the overgrowth of the baneful system of slave-labour was the chief. The Gothic invaders of the empire, though agriculturists after a fashion of their own, were less skilled than the Romans. After they had settled in the new territories, and after they had adjusted themselves into their new feudal relations, the labour of tilling the land devolved upon the poorer freemen, the retainers, and the cotters; while the nobles or proprietors, content with the produce which the labour of their tenants and farm-serfs brought them, paid little personal attention to agriculture, and devoted themselves chiefly to war and the chase. The passion for the chase which characterised the feudal aristocracy of all countries, was in itself hostile to agricultural improvement. It kept large tracts of waste land out of cultivation, in the shape of forests and morasses for the shelter of game; it gave rise to stringent seignorial laws and customs, very injurious to the small farmers and the peasantry; and it caused much positive damage and devastation to lands in crop. Such lands as were not left waste, were laid out partly in arable fields, but much more extensively in pasture. As much land was cultivated in the neighbourhood of a castle or village as was necessary, each tenant cultivating a plot sufficient to raise food for his family, and pay his rent to his lord; and the lord himself reserving a farm to be cultivated by his own farm-labourers. Attached, however, to the cultivated lands, was a great common

for pasture, where all were equally at liberty to turn out their cattle to graze. The crops chiefly grown on the tilled lands were barley, rye, and oats; wheat was not much cultivated; and what with the rudeness of the implements—of which the best was a clumsy, home-made plough, dragged by six oxen—what with the want of science, so wretched was the return for the labour, that four times the seed was accounted an average crop. Turnips and artificial grasses were unknown; the only fodder grown was a coarse hay, and that in such small quantities as to suffice only for a portion of the livestock during the winter. Hence it was a universal custom to kill and salt a considerable portion of the livestock every autumn, for winter provision. Where there were forests as well as pasture, the acorns and the beechmast afforded food for herds of pigs, which added to the store of salt-meat for winter. Bread and meat were the staple articles of diet for all classes, at least in the northern countries—for the labourers, coarse bread and bacon all the year round; for small independent farmers and their families, bread and fresh meat in summer, and bread and salt meat in winter; and for the denizens of castles, still bread and meat, only in greater variety and plenty, and with fresh venison in winter, as a change from salt meat. Various fruits were in use; and in the south, the vine and the olive, indigenous to these climates, supplied to a great extent the place of meat. Most of those esculents and garden-vegetables which we now possess in such great variety, were then unknown, or were cultivated only as rarities. In short, although in the castles of the nobles a kind of rude plenty prevailed, and although the labouring-classes had probably as much to eat as the same classes in modern society, both the quantity and the kind of produce raised from the soil revealed the backward state of agriculture. Partly from the great proportion of waste land, and partly from the inefficient cultivation of what was enclosed, there was not a country in Europe that contained a tenth part of the population it would now be capable of supporting; *while*, even with such a scanty population, the amount

of misery from insufficient food was not less. Of course, a considerable difference in this respect is visible between different periods in so long a lapse of time. There can be no doubt that the agriculture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was better than the agriculture of the sixth and seventh. Some improvement could not but result from the pressure of necessity, to say nothing of the effects of the good example set by the religious orders. These orders, and especially the Benedictine monks, were the most zealous agriculturists of the middle ages; and the tenants of monasteries were generally in far better circumstances than the tenants of lay-proprietors.

359. The manufactures of the middle ages corresponded with their agriculture. In the country, every cotter was his own mason and carpenter, and every family did its own weaving, dyeing, and tailor work. It would be enough if, in every village, there was a skilled artificer or two—such as a smith, to perform the more difficult kinds of work required in the village or at the castle. Hence, in the country, all the appurtenances of life were rude and clumsy. The peasantry lived in huts of mud and thatch constructed by themselves, and wore coarse home-made garments of cloth or leather. The castles were built of stones rough from the quarry, the thick walls being filled out with loose stones and mortar, while the interior was shaped out into apartments with large beams of wood. The apartments were almost naked of furniture, with the exception of roughly carved chairs and tables, and hangings of tapestry made by the females of the family. About the fourteenth century, however, a better style of building and of internal decoration began to prevail. Chimneys and window-glass both came into use about this period, and baronial castles began to be built on a plan to admit of these comforts. About the same period, farmhouses began to be constructed with greater attention to comfort.

360. Such manufactures as the middle ages possessed, however, were to be sought chiefly in the towns, where division of labour was a natural result of the congregation of so many persons, and where different classes of men,

following different handicrafts, were enabled to bring them to such perfection as was attainable. Masonry, carpentry, weaving, dyeing, curriery, smith-work, &c., were arts practised with more or less skill in all the towns of Europe; most skilfully, of course, in such large towns as Venice, Genoa, Hamburg, and London. Accordingly, the state of the comforts and appurtenances of town-life in the middle ages, is a fair test of the advance then made in the industrial arts generally. Now, the accounts we have of the comforts of city-life in the middle ages, are somewhat sombre. The streets, with little exception, were dark, narrow, and irregular, consisting chiefly of wooden houses, the upper stories of which projected over the lower, so as sometimes almost to meet. Brick was scarcely used anywhere in Europe till the fourteenth century; and chimneys and window-glass, though then known, were luxuries even in towns till considerably later. In the article of clothing, the citizens fared better. Plain burghers wore substantial cloths; and rich men and courtiers might gratify their fancy with rich garments made by handicraftsmen expressly for their use. The fabrics most extensively employed were woollen and linen; leather was also largely used in the manufacture of articles of dress. Cotton was cultivated and manufactured by the Moors of Spain as early as the tenth century; and the manufacture spread into Italy and other countries of the south, though it was not known in the north till a much later period. Silk, originally a Chinese product and manufacture, had been imported from the East long before the Christian era, and was well known to the Greeks and Romans. The silk-worm was cultivated, and the manufacture of silk carried on to a considerable extent in the Eastern or Greek portion of the Roman Empire before its downfall; and the manufacture was carried on afterwards by the inhabitants of the Greek Empire. In the twelfth century, the art was transferred to Sicily; in the thirteenth, both the silk-worm and the silk-manufacture were introduced into France and Spain; and in the fifteenth century, the manufacture was established in England.

361. At first, arts and manufactures were local—that is, each city or neighbourhood, or, at all events, each country, was furnished with such stuffs and manufactures as it required, chiefly by the labours of artisans within its own bounds. Even when the raw material was imported, the manufacture was carried on at home. Latterly, however, as commerce increased, certain districts and countries became the seats of certain branches of manufacture, which they cultivated so as to command a foreign market. The woollen manufactures of Flanders and the north, afford perhaps the most important example of this; but there were similar developments of special branches of industry in other parts of Europe. Thus Spain was celebrated for its manufacture of arms, silks, and fine leather; and, generally, the south of Europe was more celebrated than the north for its skill in working up the raw materials of commerce into articles of domestic ornament and luxury.

362. One branch of manufacture seems to have been carried almost to perfection in the middle ages—the manufacture of arms and armour. As was natural in a time when the chief occupation of men was military service, one of the industrial professions most in repute was that of the smith or armourer. The knights prided themselves on the fine workmanship and strength of their coats-of-mail, and on the fine temper of their swords and other weapons; and while in every country and in every town there were artisans who had a local celebrity for the excellence of their manufactures in this kind of ware, there were certain towns famed over the whole world for the skill of their armourers and workers in steel. Damascus in Syria, and Toledo in Spain, were renowned for the beauty and temper of their swords, and other cutting and piercing weapons; and Bordeaux in France, and Milan in Italy, were also in high repute for the excellence of their arms and armour. With the manufacture of arms was connected various other manufactures and arts, necessary to complete the accoutrement of a knight—such as the art of inlaying metals, of stamping and engraving, of emblazoning devices, and the like.

Considerable skill in all these was attained by the artisans of the feudal period.

363. A great revolution in the art of war, and in the industrial occupations connected with it, was brought about by the invention of gunpowder and firearms. Nitre or saltpetre was long known in the East, where it is a natural product; and it was probably among the Arabs or the Greeks that the detonating properties of a mixture of this substance with charcoal and sulphur were first discovered. It was during the thirteenth century that the discovery began to be known in Europe. The use of the powder thus discovered to propel balls or stones from tubes, was first practised in the fourteenth century by the Moors against the Spaniards; and from Spain the invention passed into France. Gunpowder and rude cannons and firearms were used in the wars between England and France; and from that time, notwithstanding the opposition of the knights to a discovery which reduced their personal prowess and the fineness of their armour to little account in war, firearms and gunpowder became more and more common. Muskets and matchlocks were used in the fifteenth century, when bombs and mortars were also invented; spring-locks were first manufactured at Nürnberg in 1517. About the same time, gunpowder of a finer quality than at first began to be manufactured.

364. II. *The Fine Arts.*—The fine arts—excluding poetry, which falls more properly under the head of literature—are music, painting, sculpture, and architecture, with such minor arts as are subservient to these.

365. *Music*—Such knowledge of music, both in theory and in practice, as had come down to the middle ages from the Greeks and Romans, does not seem to have received many additions till the tenth century. The musical service of the church was a composition of the Greek and Hebrew styles of melody. It was digested by St Ambrose of Milan in the fourth century into the Ambrosian Chant, which Pope Gregory the Great, about the year 600, superseded by the Gregorian Chant, still in use in the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, popular music was left to the uneducated ear of the people, and to the

talent of practitioners on the various rude instruments in use. The organ, the most majestic of musical instruments, is first mentioned in 757, when the Greek emperor, Constantine Copronymus, sent one as a present to King Pepin—it was probably an improvement of an ancient Greek instrument called the hydraulicon, or water-organ. Rude as the organ of the eighth century must have been as compared with the modern instrument bearing that name, it probably gave a great impulse to music. It was used in many churches in the tenth century. It was at the end of this century that the true father of the modern system of music was born—an ecclesiastic of the Italian town of Arezzo, named Guido. This ingenious man devoted his life to the teaching of music, and was the inventor of the staff and the art of Solfa-ing. He likewise improved the system of musical notation then in use. The invention of counterpoint has also been ascribed to him, but erroneously. The only other name of importance in the musical history of the middle ages, is that of Magister Franco, a chorister of the city of Cologne, in the eleventh century, who brought into use what was called the *cantus mensurabilis*—that is, a system of note-marks, indicating the length of the notes by their forms. His system has been very much changed, however, in modern practice—the shortest note in his list being the semibreve. As Germany and Italy took the lead in music at this early period of the middle ages, so they have continued to do; and it was from these countries that, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, those musicians chiefly came to whose efforts and instructions the subsequent improvement of European music may be traced.

366. *Painting.*—Of painting, as well as of music, some knowledge was inherited by the middle ages from the ancients, though the spirit of the art was gone. The technical details of the art of painting were best preserved in the Byzantine Empire, where a gaudy style of painting and gilding pictures for churches was in use from the fifth to the thirteenth century. That some knowledge of the art, however, existed in the West at the same time, is proved by illuminated German missals of the ninth and

tenth centuries which are still extant. It is to the intercourse between the East and the West, brought about by the Crusades, and especially to the temporary establishment of the Latin Empire in Byzantium, that historians attribute the simultaneous rise, in the thirteenth century, of the two great schools of early modern painting—the Italian and the German.

367. The earliest Italian picture extant is one by an artist of Sienna named Guido: it bears the date of 1221. Guido was one of a cluster of painters then living in Tuscany; but the first name of consequence after his is that of Cimabue of Florence, who was born in 1240. He was succeeded by the celebrated Giotto, also a Florentine (1276–1336), who greatly improved the art. Taddeo di Gaddo, Angelo Gaddi, Simone Memmi, and Ambrogio di Lorenzo, were among the most noted of Giotto's successors, at Florence and Sienna; but their fame was eclipsed by that of Fra Angelico (1389–1455) and Masaccio (1401–1443), whose works are still admired for their fine devotional feeling and power of execution. Various other painters of more or less note followed in different parts of Italy—such as Filippino Lippi (1460–1505); his contemporary, Benozzo Gozzoli, who was the first to devote his attention in a special manner to landscape; Ghirlandaio (1451–1495); Andrea de Castagno (died 1480); Pietro Perugino (1446–1521); Francia of Bologna (died 1533); Andrea de Mantegna of Padua (1431–1506); and Giovanni Bellini of Venice (1426-1516), in whose paintings are discerned that beauty and brilliancy of colour which became the most remarkable characteristic of the Venetian school. The climax of Italian art, however, was attained in the generation immediately succeeding that of these painters, when Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo Buonarotti, Raphael, Giorgione, and Titian lived. These great masters, inheriting all the skill of their predecessors, and applying to the art their own powers of original genius, carried painting to a perfection which it has hardly ever reached since. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was a *Tuscan*, born near Florence, and was celebrated for the

great variety of his accomplishments; besides being a great painter, he was a sculptor, an architect, an engineer, a mechanician, a botanist, an anatomist, a mathematician, an astronomer, a poet, and a musician. Michael Angelo (1474-1563), also a Tuscan, was hardly inferior to Leonardo da Vinci in the range of his genius; while in sculpture and painting he achieved a greater fame. Power, grandeur, and sublimity are the characteristics of Michael Angelo's style; and in these qualities he is considered not to have been equalled by any subsequent artist. In beauty, gentleness, and versatility of imagination, however, he is rivalled by his great contemporary, Raphael Sanzio d'Urbino (1483–1523), accounted by many the prince of Italian painters. The latter part of Raphael's life was spent at Rome. Giorgione (1477–1511) and Titian (1477–1576) were painters of the Venetian school, the characteristics of which, and especially its fine colouring, they carried to perfection.

368. In Germany, painting arose about the same time as in Italy, the chief seats of the art being Cologne and Maestricht. In a church in the former city, there is a sacred painting bearing the date of 1224. In the fourteenth century, there were several eminent painters in Cologne. In the same century appeared the two celebrated Flemish painters Hubert and John Van Eyck (1366–1426 and 1370–1441). The second of these two brothers, who settled in Bruges, not only achieved a high reputation by his paintings, which rivalled those of Italian artists in some qualities, while they were at the same time thoroughly German in their character, but also earned for himself an independent fame by introducing the practice of painting in oil. He has, indeed, been called the inventor of oil-painting; but it has been ascertained that the art was known before his time, though he had the merit of bringing it into general use both in Germany and in Italy. From this time, painting was cultivated in various parts of Germany, though few German artists rose to such eminence as their Italian contemporaries. The most famous of German painters after Van Eyck, were Quintin Matsys, a Fleming

(1450-1529), Louis Kranach, a Saxon (1472-1553), and Albert Durer of Nürnberg (1471-1528). Albert Durer was a man of great and original genius, whose works, though rough in execution, exhibit a power in some respects equal to that of the best Italian artists.

369. From Italy and Germany, painting spread into other countries of Europe—as Spain, France, and England. None of these countries, however, possessed an artist worthy of special mention prior to the close of the sixteenth century; since which time they have taken part with Italy and Germany in the progressive development of European art.

370. *Sculpture.*—The history of this art in modern times is analogous to that of painting. The Roman Empire abounded with specimens of sculpture by Greek and Roman artists, many of which survived the wreck caused by the barbaric invasions, while others were buried under the soil, to be dug up at a future day. In no city did so many ancient statues survive as in Constantinople; and accordingly, in this city, a kind of rude sculpture was carried on, after the art had ceased to exist in the West. About the time of Charlemagne, the art began to revive in the West; and in Italy especially, where relics of ancient sculpture stimulated the spirit of imitation, there arose a craft of carvers superior to mere mechanics. The first modern sculptor of any note, however, and the true father of modern sculpture, was Nicolo Pisano, an artist of the thirteenth century. This artist had numerous pupils, and specimens of his and of their skill are still to be seen in some of the Italian cathedrals. They consist of bass-reliefs and statues, intended as ornaments to the architecture; the subjects are sacred, and they are executed mostly in marble. After Nicolo, Italy counts a series of sculptors of greater or less excellence; among the most eminent of which were Andrea Pisano and Andrea Orcagna of the fourteenth; and Luca della Robbia, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Donatello, and Brunelleschi, of the fifteenth century. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Italy was full of artists, many of whom were at once architects, painters, and sculptors.

The fame of Michael Angelo is as high in sculpture as it is in painting, his colossal statue of 'Moses' ranking as the master-piece of sublime modern sculpture. Among the most eminent contemporaries of Michael Angelo was a Florentine sculptor and graver, Benvenuto Cellini, a man of vain and eccentric character, whose autobiography is not only valuable for its information as to the state of art and society in Italy in the sixteenth century, but also extremely amusing. Like the other sculptors of his time, Cellini worked on a colossal scale both in stone and in bronze, and some of these larger works of his are still to be seen in Florence; but his fame rests principally on his exquisite smaller productions, such as medals, crucifixes, bucklers, dagger-hilts, and other ornaments, of which specimens are to be found in most European collections.

371. While, both as regards excellence and number, Italy stands at the head of modern sculpture, other European countries can boast of having had practitioners in this art before the sixteenth century. Among German sculptors, Läffler, who died in 1565, is the most celebrated; Spain claims one or two native sculptors between the twelfth and the sixteenth century; in this latter century, France had one eminent sculptor named Goujon; and there are sepulchral monuments in Britain, reaching back to the early Norman times, which are considered to prove that sculpture was even then cultivated in England. The chapel of Henry VII., in Westminster Abbey, is one of the most beautiful specimens of sculptural decoration that exists in Britain; and though an Italian artist, Torrigiano, assisted in this edifice, English artists contributed to it.

372. *Architecture.*—The great buildings, whether temples or palaces, with which the Roman Empire abounded, all belonged essentially to what is called the Greek style of architecture. The peculiarity of this style consisted in the fact, that the buildings generally were of a low oblong shape, spreading horizontally over the ground, rather than springing upward. The perfection of this style was seen in the Greek temples, which were

usually oblong buildings of moderate height, with flat roofs, either surrounded with pillars, or having a row of pillars in front. According to the proportions of the columns and other circumstances, these Greek temples were distinguished into three varieties or orders—the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian; the Doric being the most solid and severe, and the Ionic and the Corinthian the more light and ornamental. The Romans, deriving these orders from the Greeks, modified them so as to introduce a style of architecture in which the pure Greek was altered, and in some respects injured, by the addition of Roman characteristics. They made a larger use of the arch than the Greeks had done; and thus, as well as by the introduction of domed buildings, attained greater variety of outline and greater perpendicular elevation. Altogether, the Romans recognised five orders of architecture—the three original Greek orders, and two modifications of these, called the Tuscan and the Composite.

373. Till about the eleventh century, such architecture as Europe possessed was a mere continuation or corruption of the architecture of the Roman Empire. While the castles of the lords, and private dwellings generally, were clumsily built, some care was expended on the churches; but even in their construction the want of art was visible. It was in Italy and in the Eastern Empire that architectural skill was best preserved; and in the history of the art, Italian and Byzantine architecture are sometimes distinguished from Roman architecture proper. About the eleventh century, there arose a new style totally distinct from that of the Greeks and Romans, and the invention of which is the great boast of the middle ages. The true origin of the Gothic, as it is called, is involved in obscurity. Some regard it as a pure invention of the Gothic or German genius, so distinct in its character from that of the Greeks and other classical nations; some view it as the result of Christianity affecting the style of pagan art; some consider it to be a natural development of Roman architecture under the operation of new influences; and some suppose

that it had its origin in a blending of the Oriental architecture of the Saracens with the later Roman architecture of the Byzantines. Be this as it may, certain it is that in the eleventh century, a new style of ecclesiastical architecture began to be practised in Europe, chiefly by the Normans. Remains of this Norman or fore-Gothic are still to be seen in England and France. It was, however, rude compared with the true Gothic, which began about the middle of the twelfth century, simultaneously in Germany, France, Italy, and England, and reached its culmination in the fourteenth. The peculiarity of this style is the use of the pointed arch, by the application of which a revolution was effected in the entire character of buildings, so as to substitute for the low-roofed temple of the Greeks, with its orderly rows of columns, the huge cathedral, aspiring, as it were, skywards, and astounding the mind by the solemn grandeur of its interior. During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, there was a passion for ecclesiastical architecture all over Europe. Vast sums were expended in all great cities on Gothic churches and cathedrals, some of which were so extensive in plan, and so richly decorated with carvings, as to require the work of several generations. The great Gothic edifices of various countries which travellers go to see—such as Westminster Abbey in London, Notre Dame in Paris, and the cathedral of Strasbourg—are of this period. The cathedrals of Milan and Cologne, however, belong to the fifteenth century. Beautiful specimens of Gothic, on a smaller scale, are to be found in all countries.

374. Science during the Middle Ages.—The science handed down from the Roman Empire to modern times, and which was chiefly the work of the Greek intellect, consisted of a tolerably advanced system of mathematics, the rudiments of astronomy, and a few empirical notions in physics and chemistry. It was principally in the Greek or eastern half of the Roman world, and there chiefly in the famous city of Alexandria, that the science thus accumulated was preserved. About the sixth century, however, the convulsions to which the Greek Empire

was subjected seem to have arrested the further progress of the Greeks in science; and from that time till the twelfth century, science took refuge among the Arabs, who, deriving their first instruction from Greek text-books which they translated, added to what they had thus received various discoveries and improvements of their own, or borrowed from the more distant Orientals. When, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Western nations began to cultivate science for themselves, they were indebted to the Arabs for this new intellectual impulse — one among the other good results of the Crusades.

375. *Mathematics.*—(1.) The Arabs received *Arithmetic* from the Greeks, but they introduced a great improvement into it by abandoning the Greek system of notation, which consisted in the use of letters of the alphabet as the signs of numbers, and adopting the ten numeral signs or ciphers now universally employed. These numerals were the invention of the Hindoos, from whom the Arabs borrowed them. Their introduction into Christian Europe is ascribed by some to Gerbert, a famous scholar of the tenth century, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., who is said to have found them among the Moors of Spain; by others, to an Italian, named Leonard of Pisa, who mentioned them in a mathematical work published in 1202. They did not come into general use, however, in their present form till the sixteenth century. (2.) The most celebrated and complete text-book of *Geometry* left by the Greeks was the work of Euclid. Various translations of this work were made into Arabic in the eighth and ninth centuries, the most celebrated being that of Nasir Eddin. By this means, a knowledge of the ancient Greek geometry was perpetuated among the Arabs, who afterwards transferred it to the West. The earliest known translation of Euclid into Latin, is that of an English monk of Bath named Athelard, who lived about 1150. (3.) To the Arabs we are also indebted for our first knowledge of *Algebra.* This splendid invention they borrowed from the Hindoos, who were in possession of an algebraic system at a very early period. The Arabs do not seem, however, to have carried

the system so far as their Hindoo masters. One of their best treatises on algebra was that of Mohammed Ben Musa, who lived at Bagdad in the ninth century. It was by means of this treatise that the science was introduced into Europe in the thirteenth century, by the same Leonard of Pisa who is said to have introduced the Arabic numerals. The science, however, lay dormant in Italy till the sixteenth century, when it began to be prosecuted simultaneously in France, Germany, and England; and since that time its progress has been one of the triumphs of the human mind.

376. *Astronomy.*—The astronomy bequeathed by the Greeks to the modern world consisted of a large body of observations, systematised to some extent by the application of mathematics. The last Greek astronomer of note was Ptolemy of Alexandria, who lived in the second century, and was the author of that theory of the heavenly motions which, under the name of the Ptolemaic System, continued to be the belief of all learned men till about three centuries ago. According to this system, the earth was supposed to be the centre of the universe, and to be at rest; and all the heavenly bodies of the firmament were supposed to move in circles, the centres of which circles moved round the earth. In this manner, various celestial phenomena which had puzzled previous astronomers were very ingeniously accounted for. The capture of Alexandria by the Arabs under Caliph Omar (640) made the Arabs acquainted with the Ptolemaic astronomy, as with the other sciences of the Greeks; and for five centuries, astronomy was cultivated by a succession of Arabic scholars and writers, who added new discoveries, made by themselves, or borrowed from the traditional astronomy of the Hindoos. Of these Arabian astronomers, the most famous were Al-Batani (880 A.D.) and Ebn Yunis (1000). It was not till the thirteenth century that astronomy began to be studied with any success by the western nations, and then the impulse was given by translations of Greek writers through the Arabic. Among the earliest western writers on astronomy were Sacrobosco (an Englishman, whose proper name was Holywood, 1220); Alonso X., king of

Castile (1252); and Roger Bacon (1255). The writings of these authors consisted chiefly of expositions of the Ptolemaic system; and the same system was implicitly followed by numerous succeeding writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At last arose the celebrated astronomer Copernik, or Copernicus, a Pole by birth, and educated at the university of Cracow (1473–1543), who propounded a new system. Instead of supposing, as men had done until his time, that the whole firmament of the heavenly bodies moved round the earth as a centre, he found that the phenomena of the heavens could be far more truly accounted for by supposing the earth itself to be subject to two motions—one, a diurnal rotation on its own axis; the other, an annual revolution round the sun. This Copernican System, as it is called, he published to the world only in the year of his death; and it required the labours of subsequent astronomers to prove it fully, and propagate it against the opposition it met with. But the adoption of this system, and the consequent abandonment of that of Ptolemy, was one of the greatest revolutions in the history of the human mind. It is not too much to say, that the thoughts of men on all subjects must necessarily have been different from what they were before, since it came to be believed that the heavens do not move round the earth, but that the apparent motion of the starry sphere is caused by a real motion of the earth. For one thing, the disappearance of astrology as a science must date from the period of this change in the mode of imagining the motions of the universe. So long as it was believed that all the glittering bodies seen in the sky moved round this earth as their centre, this earth naturally seemed to men the most important part of the universe, which all other parts attended and obeyed; and hence it did not seem unreasonable to suppose, that particular collocations of stars and planets affected the destinies of human beings, and that the appearances of comets and meteors boded change and disaster. Accordingly, in the ancient Greek and Roman world, as well as among the Hindoos, the Arabs, and the westerns of the middle ages, astrology was bound up with astronomy: almost all astronomers were

astrologers, and, indeed, astronomy was chiefly studied for astrological purposes. Some few persons had freed themselves from this superstition; but it was not till the promulgation of the Copernican system that astrology received its death-blow. Astronomy then disentangled itself from astrology—the cultivation of the one devolving upon men of education and science, while the other was left to quacks and eccentrics. As late as the close of the seventeenth century, however, there were still some men of honourable character and of scientific repute who believed in astrology.

377. *Physics and Chemistry.*—A small stock of elementary notions in natural philosophy was handed down from the Greeks to the Arabs, and by them communicated to the nations of the West. The progress of the industrial arts served also to increase this stock, by making men acquainted with common mechanical principles, and with the properties of various substances used in the arts. To the Arabs, in particular, the middle ages were indebted for a knowledge of the medicinal properties of many plants and minerals. Still, the physical science of the middle ages, from first to last, consisted of a mere mass of unconnected facts, blended with crude theories. Among the most important of these facts in its practical consequences, was that of the polarity of the magnet. The loadstone, and its power of attracting iron, and of communicating its property to bars of that metal, were known to the Greeks as early as the time of Aristotle; but the polarity of the magnet—that is, the fact that a magnetised needle or bar, if suspended freely, will always settle in a direction pointing nearly north and south—escaped the notice of the Greeks and Romans. This fact, however, was known at an early period to the Chinese, who had applied it to the purposes of navigation by the invention of the mariner's compass. In 1260, a Venetian brought a compass from the East; and from that time it came into use among the western nations, contributing greatly to the extension of maritime enterprise, which took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was about the same time that the nations of Europe first began to encourage those

researches out of which has sprung the science of chemistry. Precisely as astronomy was connected in its origin with the false science of astrology, so chemistry was prosecuted during the middle ages under the form of alchemy. The fundamental notion of this art, which is supposed to have arisen first among the Arabs, was, that the less precious metals, such as silver and lead, might be transmuted into gold by artificial means. In the attempt to effect this change—which was to be effected, it was at last imagined, by the prior discovery of an unknown mineral substance called the 'philosopher's-stone'—hundreds of men of all countries spent their lives; while others were engaged in an equally hopeless search after a certain elixir or cordial which should prolong human life indefinitely. The first alchemist of note was Geber, an Arabian physician of the seventh century. Among the earliest votaries of the science in the West were Albert Groot, usually called Albertus Magnus, a German, born 1282; Raymond Lully, a singular personage, born in Majorca in 1235; and the famous Englishman, Roger Bacon, a Franciscan monk, born at Ilchester, in Somersetshire, in 1314. Bacon was a man of great knowledge, and in his views far in advance of his time; he ridiculed charms and necromancy, and his belief in alchemy was only a consequence of the state of science in his day. He was acquainted with the composition of gunpowder, which he propounded in an enigmatic form in one of his works. Like all other men of scientific pursuits at that time, Bacon was reputed by his contemporaries to be a magician. Among his numerous successors of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, were many who voluntarily assumed the title, and cultivated alchemy as a branch of the great science of magic. Of these, the most renowned were Basil Valentine, a Benedictine monk of Erfurt, born towards the latter end of the fourteenth century; and Paracelsus, a wandering philosopher and magician, born somewhere in Switzerland about the year 1490, and whose fame spread over all Europe in the subsequent generation. Many of the alchemists were sincere and laborious men; and though their labours were

fruitless as regarded their immediate end, they brought out many rudimentary truths in chemistry, and made men acquainted with many new mineral substances and combinations. Thus Basil Valentine was acquainted with the most important acids—sulphuric, nitric, and muriatic—and gives directions for preparing them. The same alchemist added antimony to the list of known metals; and bismuth, and zinc, and phosphorus were discovered by later alchemists. Alchemy continued to be studied till the seventeenth century, about which time some glimpses of true chemistry were obtained.

378. LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.—The literary history of the middle ages divides itself into three sections—1*st*, The literature of the Greek or Eastern Empire; 2*d*, The literature of the Arabs and other Oriental nations; and, 3*d*, The literature of the West.

379. I. *Literature of the Greek or Eastern Empire.*—The Greek language, which had been diffused over the East several centuries before Christ by the conquests of Alexander the Great and his successors, continued to be spoken during the supremacy of the Romans over the eastern half of their vast empire. Although corrupted by the gradual introduction of new words and idioms, it still retained its wonderful flexibility and richness; and in the first four centuries of the Christian era, a number of able and learned men had sprung up—natives of Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Thrace, or Greece Proper—who had used this language for the purposes of theological discussion with as much effect as it had formerly been used by the writers of the classic ages. These early Fathers of the Greek Church, however, had almost all disappeared before the beginning of the fifth century; and the theological and ecclesiastical writers who followed them were of far inferior merit. Such were Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who died in 444; Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, in Syria (393–457); the two church historians, Socrates and Sozomen, both of the fifth century; Leontius, a writer of the sixth century; Hesychius, bishop of Jerusalem, in the seventh century; and the more celebrated John Damascenus, already mentioned (§ 102). The heresiarchs

of this age, such as Nestorius and Eutyches, may be likewise included among its literary men; indeed, there were few monks or ecclesiastics of any distinction that did not produce some writing or other.

380. Besides these purely theological or ecclesiastical writers, however, the Greek Empire produced, between the fifth and the tenth centuries, a series of writers on miscellaneous secular subjects, but chiefly on history and jurisprudence. The most celebrated of these, in the fifth and sixth centuries, were Tribonian, a native of Pamphylia, who died in 545, after having attained high eminence as a lawyer at Constantinople, and who was the ablest and most active member of a committee of lawyers to whom the emperor Justinian I. intrusted that great work, the accomplishment of which has immortalised his reign—namely, the systematic compilation and exposition, in two treatises, called respectively *The Code of Justinian* and *The Pandects of Justinian*, of the whole body of the Roman laws: Procopius, a native of Cæsarea, in Palestine, who wrote three works relating to the reign of Justinian (527–565)—namely, a *History of his own Times*, in eight books; a *Secret History of the Reign of Justinian;* and an *Account of the Buildings undertaken by Justinian:* Joannes Laurentius, a native of Philadelphia, in Lydia, who also lived in the reign of Justinian, and who left two works—one on *The Roman Magistrates*, and the other on *Augury*—which, after having been long lost, were recovered in manuscript at Constantinople in the year 1781: Hierocles, surnamed the Grammarian, who is also believed to have lived in the times of Justinian, and who wrote an Itinerary or Travellers' Guide through the Greek Empire, including notices of its chief cities: Agathius, of Myrina, in Æolis (died 582), who wrote, in addition to some poems, a valuable continuation of the history of Procopius: and Menander, of Constantinople, who continued the narrative of Agathius as far as the year 582. These writers were followed, in the seventh and eighth centuries, by John of Epiphania, the author of a history of the wars between the Greeks and Persians under the Emperor Maurice (586–603); Theophylactus Simocatta,

who wrote a history in continuation of the works of Agathius and Menander as far as the year 602; John, a monk of Jerusalem, who wrote a short history of the Iconoclastic controversy of the eighth century; Georgius Syncellus, who wrote a *Chronography* from the beginning of the world to the reign of Diocletian; and Theophanes Isaacius, a native of Constantinople (died 817), who continued the work of Syncellus. To the ninth century belong John of Antioch, surnamed Malalas, who wrote a chronicle from the beginning of the world till the year 566; and Theodosius, a monk of Syracuse, who wrote an account of the capture of that city by the Arabs of Spain. All these writers may be comprehended under the general designation of 'the early Byzantine writers,' to distinguish them from the classic Greek authors of preceding ages. The language they used was not so pure as the ancient classic Greek; and from the trivial character of most of their productions, it is evident that the intellectual condition of the empire, especially after the date of the Arabic invasions, was very miserable.

381. About the time of the Crusades, there was a slight intellectual revival among the Greeks of Constantinople and Asia Minor. To this period belong Xiphilin (1070), who wrote an epitome of the history of Dion of Cassius, and other works; his contemporary, Theophylact, a native of Constantinople, but archbishop of a district in Bulgaria, who wrote, among other things, a work on *The Education of Princes*, for the use of Constantine Porphyrogennetus; Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica, who lived towards the close of the twelfth century, and wrote commentaries on the Iliad and the Odyssey, extremely valuable for the amount of erudition they contain; and Tzetzes, a learned grammarian and poet of the same age, from whose writings we derive much information respecting the literature of the ancients. By far the most important literary character of the Greek Empire at the time of the Crusades, was the Princess Anna Comnena, the daughter of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. Born at Constantinople in the year 1083, she was educated with extreme care in all the science and philosophy of the time.

Her ambition, however, prompted her to aspire after an active political life; and on the death of her father in 1118, she entered into a conspiracy to dethrone her brother, who succeeded him, and place her husband, a nobleman named Bryennius, at the head of the empire. The conspiracy was detected, and Anna was obliged to retire from court, and spend the remainder of her life in privacy. To occupy her mind during this forced retirement, she composed *The Alexiad*, a history of her father's life, in fifteen books, detailing the affairs of the East from the year 1069 to 1118. She completed the work in 1148, and died in the same year. The work is written in a very rhetorical style, and is one continued panegyric on her father; but it is extremely valuable from the light it throws on the history of the First Crusade.

382. There were many learned men in Constantinople from the period of the First Crusade to the capture of the city by the Turks in 1453. Such was the distracted state of the East at that time, however, that no literature, properly so called, could flourish. When the Turks took Constantinople, even the learning of the Greeks was extinguished, the learned men scattering themselves over the West, and acting as teachers of the Greek language and expounders of Greek authors in the cities where they took refuge.

383. II. *Literature of the Arabs and other Oriental Nations.*—Even before the time of Mohammed, the Arabic was a highly formed language, and there were Arabic poets of some distinction. But the true development of the Arabian literary genius dates from the reform of Mohammed. The Koran, the literary perfection of which was adduced by Mohammed itself as a proof that it was a divine work, became the standard of Arabian eloquence, and the model of future compositions. It was not, however, till the accession of the Abbaside dynasty to the caliphate (749), by which time the conquering spirit of the Arabs was nearly exhausted, that they had full leisure for literature. The reigns of the second, third, and fourth caliphs of this dynasty—Mansur, Haroun-al-Raschid, and Mamun (749–833)—were the golden age of Arabian culture. The literary activity of

the Arabs during and after that period, consisted partly in the translation of foreign works, partly in original productions. 1. *Translations.*—The Arabs, though a highly gifted race, had little native science; and hence, when, under the Abbaside caliphs they began to direct their attention to astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and other branches of science, they were obliged to import, as it were, their elementary treatises on these subjects. Now, there were two sources from which they could borrow such scientific works—the Greek, and the Sanscrit. They availed themselves of both. From the Greek, they translated, at the suggestion, and with the help of Christian scholars, the works of Aristotle, Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, Theophrastus, Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, and many more. From the Sanscrit, the treasures of which were disclosed to them by Hindoo physicians resident at the court of Bagdad, they derived various medical and mathematical treatises. 2. *Original Compositions.*—No sooner had the Arabs become acquainted with the sciences by means of translations, than their natural aptitude enabled them to produce original scientific works of merit, especially in medicine and in mathematics. Avicenna, in the eleventh, and Averroes, in the twelfth century, are the most celebrated of Arabian writers on these subjects. But their peculiar bent was towards pure literary composition in the forms of history, poetry, and legend. In the ninth century, their most distinguished historians were Hesham ben Mohammed, Ibn Koteiba, Abu Obeida, Al-Wakedi, and Asraki. Among their poets of the same age were Abul-Atahia, D'sul Rumma, Abu Temmam, and Bokhtori. And it was about the same period that those gorgeous legends were collected which are so well known under the name of *The Thousand and One Nights.* Many of the stories in this celebrated collection seem to be of Indian origin.

384. Although Bagdad was the literary capital of the caliphate, all the other towns kept pace with it in culture. Nor was Spain behind any portion of the empire. Not only were all Arabian works of importance immediately carried thither from whatever part of the empire they

had appeared in, but the Spanish Arabs themselves rivalled their brethren of the East in literary activity, and Cordova became a city of scholars, philosophers, and poets, only less celebrated than Bagdad. Many Italian and English scholars of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, studied in the Moorish universities of Spain.

385. The literary activity which followed the diffusion of the Mohammedan creed, was not confined to the Arabs. Other Oriental nations produced writers of ability and importance. Persia was especially prolific in poetical literature, the era of its greatest productiveness being from the tenth to the fourteenth century. To this period belong the celebrated Saadi, author of many works in prose and verse, the most esteemed of which is a mystical poem called *Ghulistan*, or 'The Bed of Roses;' also Hafiz, the most renowned lyric poet of Asia. The Persians had also a series of eminent historians. The Turkish chieftains who ruled in Persia, as in other parts of the caliphate, encouraged literature at their courts. Nor was it long before the rude Turks themselves were able to boast of native authors. Turkish literature dates its beginning from the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, under Osman (1298); and during the reigns of his immediate successors, there lived a few Turkish poets and historians, whose compositions are still admired. The famous sultan Mohammed II., the captor of Constantinople, was himself a poet of some note.

386. III. *Literature of the Western Nations.*—The intellectual movement in the West during the middle ages, was much more vigorous and progressive than that of the East. To the Latin 'Fathers,' or great theological writers of the West, the last of whom was St Augustine (died 430), there succeeded, not, as in the East, a few meagre chroniclers and legists, but a long series of writers of varied talent and of real influence. A few of these writers, born while the Roman Empire of the West was not yet quite dissolved, or while the transition out of the ancient Roman state of society into that brought about by the Germanic conquests, had not yet been completely effected, are to be regarded rather as the last relics of the

classic literature of the Latins, than as literary men of the middle ages. Such writers were Claudianus (365–408), a poet and historian of much merit, who, though born in Alexandria, and therefore a Greek, attained great skill in the Latin tongue: Sulpicius Severus (366–420), born in Gaul, where he became an ecclesiastic, and wrote, among other works, a life of St Martin, bishop of Tours: Macrobius, a grammarian and miscellaneous writer, the place of whose birth is uncertain, but who lived about the middle of the fifth century: Paulus Orosius, a presbyter of Spain, living about the same time, and who wrote, in addition to a treatise against Pelagianism, a general history of the world, adapted for the use of Christians: Apollinaris Sidonius, born in Gaul in 428, and who died bishop of Clermont in 484, after enjoying a high reputation as a writer of epistles, love-poems, and other elegant but pedantic trifles: his contemporaries, Faustus, bishop of Riez, a Briton by birth; and Mamertius Claudienus, a Gaul—both of whom, besides taking part in the Pelagian controversy, wrote treatises of a philosophical and metaphysical nature: Boethius, a Roman senator, and distinguished writer, already mentioned (§ 36): Priscianus, born in Asia Minor, and a resident at Constantinople about the year 525, but who was a master of the Latin tongue, of which he wrote a complete and valuable grammar: and Cassiodorus, born in Southern Italy about the year 480, and distinguished, not only for his services as a statesman under the Ostrogothic kings, but also as a man of learning, and the author of various historical pieces. All these writers, and a considerable number more that might be added, wrote in Latin, while it was still the living and prevalent language of the West.

387. From the beginning of the sixth century, we find a great change in the literature of the West. The Germanic invasions had caused a revolution in the languages as well as in the political state of Europe. After they had taken place, the Latin was no longer a living and universal language. In each country, it is true, a large portion of the population continued to speak Latin; but into each there had been introduced a dialect

of German, which was spoken by the conquerors. Thus, in Gaul, there existed the Frankish, the Gothic, and the Burgundian dialects; in Spain, the Visigothic; in Italy, a variety of dialects, such as the Ostrogothic and the Lombard; in England, the Anglo-Saxon and the Danish; and so on. At first, these dialects remained distinct from the Latin of the old Roman or Romanised inhabitants, as well as from such relics of the aboriginal languages—Gaelic, British, or Iberian—as still continued in existence. But gradually, in each country, the necessity of social intercourse between the conquerors and the natives, gave rise to a mixed language, partly composed of German, partly of Latin and aboriginal, words and idioms, the precise nature of the mixture depending on the special circumstances of the country. Thus, in each country of the West, the Latin was superseded, more or less slowly, by a new popular language, based, indeed, on the Latin, but differing greatly from it. In England, where the Latin tongue had never been very prevalent, the popular language that arose was essentially Germanic in its character; either, as some suppose, a modification of the Anglo-Saxon, which had been introduced by the conquerors, or, as others suppose, a perpetuated form of an old Germanic tongue spoken in the island before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons. But in Spain, Gaul, and Italy, where the Latin element prevailed, the new popular language was so closely founded on the Latin, that it received the name of *Langue Romane*, or the Romance Language. The modern French, Spanish, and Italian languages are subsequent formations out of this transitionary Romance language, which, though it doubtless began in the sixth century, did not attain its full growth till several centuries later.

388. After the sixth century, therefore, there existed, in every country of the West, a living or vernacular language in general use; either, as in Gaul, Spain, and Italy, a corrupted Latin called *Romance*, or, as in more northern countries, a dialect of the original Germanic tongue. But in no country was this vernacular at first used as a literary language. German ballads were, indeed,

composed by the German bards to be sung at feasts of the chiefs; there may also have existed songs in the Romance tongue, sung by the natives of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, not long after the conquests; but all written literature was carried on at first solely in Latin, which, though no longer in general use, was easily kept up as a traditional or learned language, by the ecclesiastics, many of whom were of Roman descent. Thus, in tracing the literary history of the West during the middle ages, we have to attend to the progress of two distinct streams of literature—I. The learned literature of Europe, written in the Latin language; and II. The popular or vernacular literature of the different European nations.

389. I. *Learned or Latin Literature of Europe during the Middle Ages.*—It is not unusual to stigmatise the three centuries immediately succeeding the Germanic conquests, as an age of intellectual darkness. This is a mistake. From the sixth to the eighth century was a period of intense intellectual activity; books and pamphlets, all written in Latin, were produced in great numbers. The reason for the mistake is partly that, at this period, all profane literature disappeared—the ecclesiastics not only monopolising all the culture of the age, but employing that culture solely in the interests of religion and the church, to the neglect of science, poetry, and general philosophy; and partly, that even such religious writings as were produced were all intended for immediate practical effect, and were consequently forgotten as soon as the occasion for them was over. A modern author has distributed such writings of this period as remain into three classes, as follows:—1. *Sermons, or Religious Expositions and Exhortations.*—These were of various kinds, some of them being commentaries on Scripture, some of them eulogies or panegyrics on individuals, some of them mere moral addresses. Of the thousands of such compositions that were once in circulation, only a few have come down to us. Of these, the sermons of St Cesaire, bishop of Arles, in Gaul (470–542), and of St Columban, a monk of Ireland, who spent his life as a missionary in Gaul and Germany (540–610), deserve

especial notice for their powerful eloquence, which is quite equal to that of the modern pulpit. And these are but two out of a host of preachers of that age. 2. *Legends of the Saints.*—Of the immense multitude of legends or lives of the saints and martyrs of the early Christian Church—compositions which, in their collected form, fill nearly sixty printed folio volumes, and amount to about 25,000 lives in all, giving about 70 saints, on an average, for every day of the year—a very large proportion seem to have been compiled in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. To preserve memoirs of good and remarkable men, is a natural instinct in all ages; and in the ages succeeding the German conquests, Western Europe was full of legends relating to the great ecclesiastics, martyrs, and missionaries, whose lives had illustrated the virtues of Christianity. Besides appealing to the religious feeling, these legends appealed to the love of the marvellous, inasmuch as almost all of them contained stories and adventures of supernatural or exciting interest. At first handed down by tradition, and told in the evenings at the firesides of the people, these tales were at length collected and collated by monks and ecclesiastics, who thought it their duty to preserve them. Sometimes, also, a monk or ecclesiastic would write an original memoir of some celebrated saint or missionary with whom he had been acquainted; and sometimes a monk, finding two or three such manuscripts regarding a celebrated saint, would combine them into one legend. Of the hundreds of individuals who laboured in this species of literature, it is impossible to take note: suffice it to say, that the *Lives of the Saints*, though generally poor and artless as compositions, were the real literature of the middle ages, and, as such, still deserve study. 3. *Annals and Poetry.*—Although by far the greater proportion of the writings of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries were of an exclusively religious character, there were, during that period, a few writers who still tried to retain something of the secular and classic form in their productions. The most important of these in Gaul were—Gregory, bishop of Tours (539–593), who, besides leading an active

and exemplary life in the most troubled times of the Merovingian kings, wrote an *Ecclesiastical History of the Franks*, in which he recorded the chief events of Gaulish history from the year 377 to the year 591, in addition to which he was the author of various lives and legends relating to Gaulish saints: St Avitus, bishop of Vienne (died 525), distinguished as a champion of orthodoxy against the Burgundian Arians, and who, in addition to some homilies and theological treatises, was the author of six poems in Latin hexameter verse, three of which, entitled respectively *The Creation*, *The Original Sin*, and *The Expulsion from Paradise*, are remarkable not only for their genuine poetical merit, but also for certain striking resemblances, both in conception and in detail, to the *Paradise Lost* of Milton: Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers (530–600), who, besides some theological treatises and legends of the saints, wrote a number of occasional poems in all metres, in the elegant and trifling style of the later Latin poets: and Fredegaire, a monk of Burgundy, in the latter part of the seventh century, who continued the history of Gregory of Tours, though with little ability, to the year 641. In Italy and in Spain, there were also one or two writers of the same kind; and Britain could boast of not a few—of whom the most distinguished were Gildas, a monk of Bangor, in Wales (493–570), and the author of an account of the conquest of Britain by the Saxons; and the Venerable Bede, a Saxon monk of the early part of the eighth century, whose writings are perhaps the most valuable literary relic of those times. The ecclesiastics of Britain and Ireland were then the most celebrated in Europe for their learning; Ireland was styled 'the seminary of the west' and 'the isle of saints;' and in the time of Adalbert, archbishop of York, the school of that city was in high reputation.

390. The reigns of Charlemagne and his successors, Louis le Débonnaire and Charles the Bald (768–877), formed a new epoch in the history of literature. Ecclesiastics were still the only literary men, and all writings continue to have more or less of a religious character; but the ecclesiastical mind began, about this period, to take in

a wider range of topics, and the profane sciences, as they were called, such as grammar, rhetoric, mathematics, astronomy, and natural history, began once more to be taught in the ecclesiastical schools. As it was the habit of Charlemagne to draw all the men of learning of the day towards himself, and as his successors, and especially Charles the Bald, imitated his example, the following list of remarkable men connected with the Frankish Empire may stand as representative of the learning of the West during this period:—Alcuin, an Englishman, already mentioned as the chief friend and minister of Charlemagne (735–804), the author of more than thirty works, theological, political, historical, and poetical: Angilbert, a Frank, the secretary of Charlemagne (died 814), and the author of some poems: Leichade, archbishop of Lyons (died 816), and one of Charlemagne's *missi dominici*, the author of some theological writings: Smaragde, abbot of St Mihiel, and an employé of Charlemagne, the author of a grammar and some commentaries on the New Testament: St Benedict d'Aniane (751–821), abbot of Aniane, and who, like his namesake, the previous St Benedict, applied himself to the reform of the monasteries, and wrote some works with that view: Theodulph, an Italian Goth, bishop of Orleans, and a *missus* of Charlemagne, who wrote poems and theological works: Eginhard, a Frank (died 839), abbot of Seliegenstadt, and who wrote, amongst other things, a life of Charlemagne, to whom he was for some time secretary: Agobard, a Spaniard (779–840), archbishop of Lyons, and the author of theological treatises and poems: Thegan, a Frank, and ecclesiastic at Treves (died 846), who wrote a life of Louis le Débonnaire: Raban Maur, a Frank, and abbot of Fulda (776–856), who wrote various works on theological, philological, and philosophical subjects: Walfrid, a German, abbot of Reichenau (807–849), and author of a commentary on the whole Bible, of some poems, and of a life of St Gall: Florus, a Burgundian, and priest at Lyons, who wrote poems and polemical treatises on theology: St Prudentius, a Spaniard, bishop of Troyes (died 861), author of some controversial writings: Servat-Loup, a Gaul,

abbot of Ferrieres (died 862), author of some theological works, and a history of the emperors, now lost; Gottschalk, a Saxon monk, who wrote some philosophical and theological treatises (died 869): Hincmar (806–882), already mentioned as archbishop of Rheims, and as a man of great activity under Louis le Débonnaire and Charles the Bald, and the author of many letters and political and theological writings: and lastly, John Scotus Erigena, an Irishman (died 879), the author of various philosophical works. In addition to these learned men, directly connected with the Frankish Empire, may be mentioned their English contemporaries—King Alfred the Great (849–901), who employed his royal leisure both in translating Latin works into Anglo-Saxon, and in writing works of his own; and his friend and biographer Asser, a learned monk of St David's.

391. Of all these learned men, none deserves so much attention as the Irishman—John Scotus Erigena. Both in the degree of his intellect, and in the peculiar direction which he gave to it, he stood alone in his age. Born in Ireland, some time between 800 and 815, and hence called indifferently '*Scotus*' (Scot) or '*Erigena*' (Irish-born), he seems, after having been educated in his native country, to have travelled over Europe, increasing his knowledge. Besides being skilled in Latin, and in all the ecclesiastical lore of the time, he acquired Greek and Hebrew, and became intimately acquainted with the Greek classics, and particularly with the philosophers Plato and Aristotle. Towards the middle of the ninth century, he settled at the court of Charles the Bald; and here, taking part in the controversies of the time, he wrote his two great works—the one entitled *On Predestination;* the other, *Concerning the Division of Nature.* What is most remarkable in these works, apart from their extreme subtlety and ability, is their purely philosophical spirit; their attempt to construct a system of views, not immediately upon Revelation or authority, but upon human reason. So apparent was this tendency, that the cry of heresy was raised against Erigena; and Pope Nicholas I. even demanded that he should be sent

to Rome to be examined. According to some, this persecution drove him into England, where he died. It seems more likely, however, that he died in France, under the protection of Charles the Bald. The familiar terms on which he stood with this monarch, are illustrated by the following story:—As the king and John were seated after dinner, one at one side of the table, and the other at the other, John did something which offended the Gallic notion of politeness. On this, the king said laughing: 'What difference is there, John, between a sot and a Scot?' 'Nothing but the table,' said the ready wit.

392. John Scotus may be considered the first of that class of writers, the peculiar boast of the middle ages, who are known in literary history by the name of 'the schoolmen.' It was about his time, or in the subsequent century, that certain of the schools founded in different parts of Europe, began to acquire such celebrity as to attract great numbers of students, and so, by the conflict of minds, to assume that character of intellectual activity in all departments, which belongs to what we now call universities. The most ancient universities in Europe are those of Paris and Bologna. The former traces its existence to the time of Charlemagne, and was certainly a distinguished place of education as early as 900. The foundation of the English university of Oxford, is erroneously ascribed to Alfred the Great; but it is certainly as old as the beginning of the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century, were founded other celebrated European universities—as those of Padua, Naples, Toulouse, Montpelier, Cambridge, and Salamanca. In the fourteenth century, arose the universities of Orleans, Prague, and Leipsic; and, in the fifteenth, new universities sprang up in considerable number in France, Spain, and other countries. All these universities received charters of incorporation from the monarchs in whose dominions they were situated, and gradually acquired rights and privileges, which made them nearly independent of ecclesiastical control. Students flocked to them in such numbers, that new colleges were founded in connection

with each; so that each university came to embrace a cluster of colleges. As many as 30,000 students are said to have attended the colleges of the university of Oxford at one period in the fourteenth century. This must be an exaggeration; but it is authentically known, that at that time there were 10,000 students at Bologna; and that, at a period somewhat later, the university of Paris contained 25,000 students. These students were collected from all parts of the earth, it being the custom of scholars to travel from university to university in pursuit of knowledge. Even in time of war, Scotchmen were allowed to study at Oxford, where also were to be found Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians; and, on the other hand, Englishmen went to study at Paris, Montpelier, Salamanca, and Bologna.

393. The scholars who habitually resided at, or were in communication with, these great seminaries of learning, whether as teachers, or in any other capacity, were called 'schoolmen.' These schoolmen, who were, as a general rule, all of the ecclesiastical order, prosecuted such branches of learning as they individually preferred. Some, as we have seen, devoted themselves to medicine, mathematics, and physical science. Such were the famous Gerbert, a Frenchman by birth, and who filled the papal chair, as Pope Sylvester II., from 999 to 1003; and Roger Bacon, the learned Englishman of the thirteenth century. Others applied themselves to the study of civil law, a study which came into fashion first in Italy, where the discovery of a copy of Justinian's *Pandects*, at Amalfi, in the year 1135, suddenly turned the attention of the learned to the subject of scientific jurisprudence. From that period, Roman law was taught in all the universities —that of Bologna being most in repute for its learned legists. Montpelier, on the other hand, was the most famous medical school. But while law, medicine, and physical science were studied at the various schools or universities, the pre-eminent study of these seats of learning was philosophy, or philosophical theology; and hence the name of 'schoolmen' is more particularly applied to those doctors and professors who made themselves

famous in the theological and philosophical discussions of the middle ages. The universities of Paris and Oxford were perhaps the most famous centres of the scholastic philosophy. The peculiar character of this philosophy consisted in the earnest study of the metaphysics and logic of Aristotle, as made accessible through Latin translations of some of that writer's works, through the medium of the Arabic, and in the application of Aristotelian forms of reasoning to subtle theological problems. At first, there was an outcry against such a blending of Christian theology with the logic and metaphysics of a pagan philosopher; but as the schoolmen, notwithstanding the boldness with which they speculated on matters of doctrine, were generally stanch supporters of the supremacy of the church, this feeling died away, the scholastic philosophy became the principal part of ecclesiastical education, and the name of Aristotle was regarded with such reverence, that it was accounted little less than blasphemy to deny his authority, and actual heresy to depart from his system.

394. A complete list of the schoolmen would extend to a great length. After John Scotus Erigena, who was a thinker far in advance of his time, the first name of much importance is that of Roscelin, a French ecclesiastic of the eleventh century, who revived a metaphysical controversy much discussed by the ancient Greek philosophers. Lanfranc, an Italian ecclesiastic, who settled in France, and afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of William the Conqueror, was also a celebrated schoolman (1005–1089); in which capacity he was rivalled by Anselm, his successor in the see of Canterbury, who was likewise an Italian by birth (1033–1109). The theological works, both of Lanfranc and Anselm were numerous. In the year 1100, a schoolman, named William of Champeaux, was celebrated as a teacher of logic and metaphysics at the university of Paris. One of his pupils, who afterwards opposed and eclipsed him, was Peter Abelard, a Frenchman (1079–1142), whose bold and brilliant genius produced as powerful an effect on the philosophy, as his romantic history produced on

the popular mind of his time. Abelard, whose originality exposed him to the suspicion of heresy, founded a school of thinkers who disseminated his opinions over Europe. One of the most celebrated of his disciples was Peter Lombard, afterwards archbishop of Paris, and author of a work called *The Book of Sentences*, which obtained an immense influence among the students of scholastic philosophy. Contemporary with Abelard and Peter Lombard was St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux (1091-1153), more celebrated as a saint and a preacher, than as a metaphysician, but who is entitled also to rank among the schoolmen, in consequence of his having opposed Abelard's doctrines. Albertus Magnus, already mentioned as an alchemist of the thirteenth century, also belongs to the class of schoolmen. But the greatest of the scholastic theologians and metaphysicians of this century, were Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274) and Duns Scotus (1265-1308). Thomas Aquinas was a Neapolitan of noble birth, whose love of study led him, at a very early age, to abandon his prospects of a high political and military career, and enter a convent of Dominican Friars. After attending the lectures of Albertus Magnus at Cologne, where his silent and meditative disposition procured for him the nickname of 'the large mute ox of Sicily,' he proceeded to Paris, where he commenced his literary life by a treatise in defence of monasticism. From that time, he became so distinguished as a dialectician and a writer on theology, that his fame spread over all Europe, and kings and emperors contended for the honour of having him at their courts. He received the name of the 'Angelical Doctor;' and though he died at the early age of forty-seven, he left a reputation behind him greater than that attained by any preceding schoolman. He was a man of humble and pious disposition; and a large number of treatises, the most celebrated of which are a commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and an *Exposition of Aristotle*, remain as evidences of his laborious life. One of the theological doctrines of Thomas Aquinas was opposed, after his death, by Duns Scotus; and hence there arose a division of the theologians

of that age into two camps—the *Thomists* and the *Scotists*. Where Duns Scotus was born, is a point in dispute—Scotland, England, and Ireland all claiming the honour of having produced him. It is certain that he was a Franciscan monk, and that he was educated at Oxford, where he afterwards (1301) became professor of theology, lecturing to large crowds of students. In 1307, he removed to Paris, and astonished the schoolmen there by his subtlety as a disputant. He died in Cologne, whither he had gone to assist in founding a new university. His numerous writings perpetuated his influence, and procured for him the name of 'the Subtle Doctor;' under which name his admirers, and especially the Franciscans, set him up as a rival of Thomas Aquinas, the glory of the Dominicans. The Franciscans, however, were able to boast of another schoolman hardly less eminent than Duns Scotus. This was William Occam, an Englishman, born about the close of the thirteenth century, and who died at Munich in 1347. Occam, who was called 'the Invincible Doctor,' opposed some points of the philosophy of Scotus, and founded a new speculative sect, called the Occamists. He was by no means the last of the schoolmen, there being many eminent logicians and metaphysicians after him, particularly among the Mendicant Friars.

395. The works of the schoolmen are now read by none, except a few zealous students of the history of philosophy. They abound in subtleties of a kind quite alien from modern modes of thinking, and contain elaborate dissertations about matters that are incomprehensible in their nature, and, to a modern understanding, absurd and puerile. It is a superficial criticism, however, that would pronounce the works of the once famous schoolmen to be mere rubbish. It is absolutely impossible to estimate the effects of the scholastic studies of the middle ages upon the development of modern thought; and those who are acquainted with the writings of Abelard, Peter Lombard, Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and Occam, maintain that matter is to be found in them still highly valuable and suggestive, notwithstanding the wide deviation of the human mind from the scholastic path of inquiry.

396. Besides the schoolmen, there ought to be noticed, as belonging to the learned or Latin literature of the latter part of the middle ages, a considerable number of ecclesiastical annalists and historians. England produced a series of such, of whom the most important are—Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Giraldus Cambrensis, of the twelfth; Roger Hoveden, Gervase Tilbury, Roger Wendover, and Matthew Paris, of the thirteenth; Higden, Knighton, and Matthew of Westminster, of the fourteenth; and Walsingham, of the fifteenth century. Scotland produced a native historian in the fourteenth century, named John Fordun. Among Italian historians, the most distinguished were De Vineis and Malespini, both of the thirteenth century. The Latin chroniclers of the Crusades were chiefly French ecclesiastics.

397. II. *Vernacular Literature of the European Nations.*—While the Latin language was in use universally over Europe for all learned purposes, each European nation had, as has been already mentioned, a vernacular language used for the intercourse of common life, and gradually forming itself for the purposes of popular literature. These languages divide themselves into three classes—the *Romance languages*, or the languages immediately derived from the Latin, and spoken in those parts of Europe where the Roman language and civilisation had taken such firm root as not to be displaced by the German invasions; the *Gothic* or *Germanic languages*, spoken in Germany, Scandinavia, and other parts of Northern Europe; and the *Slavonian languages*, spoken by the Slavonian nations.

398. *Literature of the Romance Languages.*—The seats of these languages were France, Italy, and Spain, with some adjacent parts of Southern Europe. In these countries, there were numerous local dialects, all bearing a certain family resemblance. Every district in Spain, for example, had its peculiar dialect: those of Spain differed from those of Italy; and these, again, from the dialects of France—the differences arising from the different circumstances in which the Latin had been

corrupted, and from the different foreign ingredients with which it had been in contact while the process of corruption was going on. Thus, in the Spanish dialects of the Romance, and in those of Southern Italy, there was a considerable infusion of Arabic words and idioms, from which the more northern Romance dialects escaped.

399. Although it is highly probable that there were ballads and other such scraps of popular literature in the numberless local dialects of the Romance spoken in Italy, Spain, and France, between the seventh and the eleventh century, there are no specimens of real Romance literature going further back than the latter date. About this time, there appeared almost simultaneously two outbursts of a vernacular literature, breaking through the monotony of the Latin—that of the *Troubadours* (*Trovatore*, a 'finder,' a poet) of Southern France, and the adjacent parts of Italy and Spain; and that of the *Trouvères* (another form of the same word as troubadour), or minstrels of Northern France and England. The river Loire may be regarded as the boundary-line between these two original Romance literatures. The language spoken south of that river, as far as, and even beyond the Pyrenees, was called the *Langue d'Oc*, or the *Oc* variety of the Romance, from the circumstance, that the word 'Oc' stood for 'Yes' among those who spoke it; while, for a similar reason, the language spoken north of the Loire was called the *Langue d'Oil*, or the *Langue d'Oui*. The purest Langue d'Oc was spoken by the Provençals, or inhabitants of Provence; the purest Langue d'Oui by the Normans, or inhabitants of Normandy. Hence the Troubadour poetry is also called the Provençal poetry, or the poetry of the Southern Romance, or the poetry of the Langue d'Oc; while the poetry of the Trouvères is indifferently called the poetry of the Norman minstrels, the Northern Romance poetry, or the poetry of the Langue d'Oui. Both these outbursts of Romance poetry seem to have been determined by the impulse given to the feelings of the higher classes of society by the Crusades, and by the institutions and customs of chivalry which accompanied these enterprises; but a considerable difference both in form and in matter, is to

be discerned between the Provençal or Southern Romance literature, and the Norman or Northern Romance.

400. The Troubadour poetry was essentially lyrical in its character. In the courts of Arles and Toulouse, and in the castles of all that region where the Langue d'Oc was spoken, the sentiment of chivalry took the luxurious and voluptuous form natural to a southern climate; and when men had recourse to literature for recreation, they delighted chiefly in songs of love and gallantry, in which the voice could be aided by a musical accompaniment. The composition of such songs became a fashionable accomplishment with lords and ladies, and was called 'the gay science.' Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, historians reckon up the names of several hundred troubadours of more or less note; and many of these were men and women of high rank, and celebrated for their connection with the political events of the time. Nor were they all natives of the Provençal region. The desire to excel in 'the gay science' spread into other parts of Europe; and among those who qualified themselves to be accounted troubadours by writing Provençal verses, were one English king (Richard I.), two kings of Aragon, and one of Sicily. From such specimens of troubadour poetry as remain, the merits of this section of early European literature cannot be rated very high. No original power of mind is displayed in it; and the greater part of it consists of a few amatory commonplaces expressed in vapid language and in forced rhymes. It is to be remembered, however, that, as it was meant to be sung, much of its charm must be lost to the modern reader. Sung at the Courts of Love, and other occasions of festive ceremonial, where knights did homage to the other sex in the extravagant style of the age of Chivalry, the poetry of the troubadours may have deserved the applause then bestowed upon it. It was essentially, however, a passing phase of literature; and, accordingly, it died out with the extinction of the power of the Counts of Toulouse in the thirteenth century, when the songs of Provençal gallantry were drowned by the shrieks of the persecuted Albigenses.

401. The poetry of the Trouvères, or Norman minstrels, was in many respects of a higher character than that

of the Troubadours of Provence. It was, in the main, narrative or epic, rather than lyrical. As early as the tenth century, there were attempts at composition in the Langue d'Oui, or that form of the Romance dialect spoken in France north of the Loire; and the best of these attempts were made by Normans. But the real outburst of the Norman Romance was subsequent to the Norman Conquest of England in 1066. After that event, the Normans on both sides of the English Channel were seized with a literary spirit, which found its material in the numerous legends then floating about in the north of Europe. A favourite source of these legends was the traditional history of Britain, as it was recorded in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth and other Latin chroniclers; but the Trouvères did not confine themselves to these, but availed themselves also of their own Scandinavian legends, of the legends of the Franks and Armoricans, and of the tales of the Crusades. Besides serious or romantic legends, they also cultivated a kind of comic or satiric narrative, in which reference was made to the circumstances of real and ordinary life amongst themselves. These comic tales, the facetiousness of which often bordered on coarseness, were called *Fabliaux*. Both the romantic tales and the fabliaux were written in a loose and easy metre, in the Langue d'Oui, or Norman-French dialect; and from their narrative character, they are more entertaining to modern readers than the lyrical effusions of the Troubadours. A complete list of the Trouvères, or narrative poets of Northern France, would probably be as large as a corresponding list of the Provençal poets. It is a curious fact, too, that a great number, if not the majority, of the Trouvères, were Anglo-Normans, the first Norman kings of England appearing to have encouraged Norman minstrelsy among their subjects. Among the earliest minstrels mentioned is Taillefer, a native of Normandy, who accompanied William into England, and is said to have recited a favourite romance of Frankish history, called the Romance of Roland, to the Norman army at the battle of Hastings. Another Norman, named Philip de Than, was in high

reputation as a minstrel at the English court of Henry I. But the most distinguished of the Norman poets was a native of Jersey, named Robert Wace, who lived about 1150, and wrote, amongst other things, a metrical version of the legendary history of England, entitled *Le Brut d'Angleterre*, and a romance, entitled *Roman de Rou*, narrating the exploits of the Dukes of Normandy from the time of their Scandinavian progenitor Rollo.

402. Both the Provençal poetry of the Troubadours, and the minstrelsy of the Norman Trouvères, are to be regarded as belonging to a transitionary epoch in the history of European literature—the period intervening between that time of mere chaos, when a hundred different dialects of Romance, or disintegrated Latin, were spoken over France, Italy, and Spain, but no proper literature had been produced in any, and the subsequent age of the rise of the national French, Italian, and Spanish literatures. The Troubadours of Provence and the Norman minstrels were the first, so to speak, to shew the example of literary effort in the vernacular to the Romance-speaking populations lying between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean—the former by fantastic lyrical strains and sonnets in the Langue d'Oc; the latter, by more considerable narrative poems in the Langue d'Oui. It is even supposed that the influence of these two primitive impulses may be discerned in the subsequent development of the national literatures of Europe—the southern literatures of Italy and Spain exhibiting a prevalence of the lyrical spirit of the Provençal poets; while, in the northern literatures of France and England, there is more of the narrative or epic spirit derived from the Norman Trouvères. This remark, however, is true only with considerable allowance.

403. The national literature of FRANCE may be viewed as a simple prolongation of the Norman literature of the Trouvères. At first, as we have seen, two dialects of Romance were spoken over the area of France—the Langue d'Oc, or Provençal, south of the Loire; and the Langue d'Oui, or Norman-French, north of the Loire. From various circumstances, however, the latter of these two dialects prevailed over the other; the Norman-French

extended itself south, displacing the Provençal, or degrading it into a mere provincial dialect, and thus became the national language of the French court and people. This change was in progress as early as the twelfth century, and completed itself with great rapidity after the fall of the Troubadours. The modern French language is but a development of the Langue d'Oui of the Norman Trouvères. Such of these Trouvères, therefore, as were natives of France, may be regarded as the fathers of French literature; in which capacity, however, there may be associated with them some contemporary prose-writers, natives of the north of France—as Geoffrey de Ville Hardouin, who lived at the close of the twelfth century, and wrote a remarkable account of the capture of Constantinople by the Latins in the fourth Crusade, in which he was himself an actor; and Jean de Joinville, who accompanied St Louis of France in his first crusade (1248), and wrote an admirable account of it in a work, entitled *Histoire de St Louis*. In the same century appeared many fabliaux and metrical narratives, after the fashion of the Norman Trouvères, the most celebrated of these being the poems of Thiebaut, Count of Champagne, and king of Navarre (1201–1253). A production of a far more ambitious kind, also belonging to this century, was a long allegorical poem, entitled the *Roman de la Rose*, begun by a writer named William de Lorris about the year 1250, and finished by Jean de Meun about half a century later. This poem, which extends to about 22,000 lines, is by far the most celebrated production of French literary genius in the middle ages; it was read in all parts of Europe with admiration for more than two centuries; and it exercised a large influence on the poets not only of France, but of other countries. The deficiency of books, and the consequent willingness of persons in that age to read any one imaginative work through from beginning to end, however long it was spun out, and however trivial it was in its details, must account for the astonishing popularity of the *Roman de la Rose* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for now, notwithstanding the real poetry which it contains, none but

literary antiquaries could peruse it as a whole. It is a kind of didactic treatise on the art of love, carried on in the method of a continuous allegory, and containing passages translated from Ovid and other Latin poets, along with quotations from Thomas Aquinas and other scholastic theologians. Many other *Romans*, by inferior French writers, in the same and in the following century, were in the same allegoric vein. Among French poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who helped to introduce a somewhat less cumbrous style, one of the most important was Olivier Basselin (1350–1418), a fuller by trade, and a writer of merry songs. Basselin lived in the *Val* or *Vau de Vire;* his songs were called *Vau de Vires;* hence the modern French term *Vaudeville*, as the name for any light narrative. Alain Chartier, secretary to Charles VI. and Charles VII. (1400-1450), was also a poet of note in his day; and to a later period of the same century belonged Charles Bordignee; a poetess named Clotilde de Surenne; and Charles, Duke of Orleans (1466), a poet of considerable feeling. The beginnings of the French drama are also to be referred to the fifteenth century, when miracle-plays, or personations of scenes in Scripture-history, were performed by the clergy, or under their direction, as a means of interesting the people. More celebrated, however, than any of the French poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are two great French prose-writers of that age—the historians Jean Froissart and Philip de Comines. Froissart was born at Valenciennes in 1337; he spent part of his life at the French court, resided for some time at the English court in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., and died about the year 1400. He wrote a chronicle of French and other collateral history, extending over the whole period of his own life, which is delightful from the freshness and picturesqueness of its style, as well as valuable for its information. The work of Philip de Comines, Lord of Argenton, is likewise a history of his own times (1445–1498); and it throws much light on the character and reign of Louis XI., in whose service the author was employed.

404. The rise of vernacular literature in ITALY dates from the thirteenth century. Prior to that time, as at present, there were in Italy a number of dialects, bearing a certain affinity to each other, and all nearer akin to the classical Latin, from which they were derived, than the Romance dialects of France. The most important of these dialects were and are the Milanese, the Venetian, the Mantuan, the Piedmontese, the Genoese, the Bolognese, the Neapolitan, the Sicilian, and the Sardinian. In some of these dialects, and especially in the Neapolitan, there were chronicles and poems written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From various circumstances, however, the Tuscan dialect had acquired a degree of polish and perfection, which rendered it superior for literary purposes to any other Italian dialect. Accordingly, it was in Tuscany, and especially in Florence, that the first outburst of classical Italian literature took place. There, influenced by the example of the Troubadours, a number of learned men began, in the thirteenth century, to abandon the use of Latin in their writings, and to pen histories and poems in the *lingua volgare*, or vernacular tongue. Among these were Ricordano Malespini, who wrote a history of the Florentine Republic to the year of his death (1281); Brunetto Latini, a poet and grammarian; and Guittone d'Arezzo and Guido Cavalcanti, poets. It was at this early period, and from amid this cluster of Tuscan writers, that there started forth a man of such colossal dimensions, as not only to eclipse all his contemporaries, and by his own works alone found a national literature, but also to take a place among the greatest men of all ages and climes. This was Durante Alighieri, more commonly called Dante. Born at Florence in the year 1265, of parents in good circumstances, Dante was very carefully educated, and began at an early period to compose sonnets and lyrical pieces in Tuscan. In later life, he took part in the politics of his native state, bringing his immense powers of mind, and a noble though stern character, to bear on the distractions caused by the feuds between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Equally disgusted with the conduct of both parties, and full of lofty views for the good

of Florence and of Italy as a whole, he ventured, in the year 1300, when he was chief-magistrate of Florence, to banish the chiefs of both factions, including some of his personal friends. A revolution brought one of the factions back into power; and Dante was expelled from Florence, and condemned to be burnt alive, if taken. The remainder of his life was spent in exile, and he died at Ravenna in the year 1321. During his exile, while wandering in gloom and poverty from one Italian city to another, he was engaged in political schemes with exiles like himself; but his chief occupation was the composition of works in prose and verse, more particularly of one great poem, the idea of which he had conceived before leaving Florence. This poem, which he completed just before his death, is one of the master-pieces of the world's literature. It is called the *Divina Commedia*, or 'Divine Comedy,' and consists of three parts—the first called the *Inferno*, or 'Hell;' the second, the *Purgatorio*, or 'Purgatory;' and the third, the *Paradiso*, or 'Paradise.' In the poem, Dante represents himself as journeying in person through these three regions of the world beyond the grave, as it was conceived by the Catholics; and he describes what he saw and heard in each. Under this form, the work is in part a criticism of human life as Dante had found it, with special allusion to recent Italian history; in part it is a mystical revelation of Dante's theological and philosophical views. A spirit of intense melancholy, and of the utmost severity of judgment, breathes through it, tempered by the loftiest power of imagination and pathos, and the most exquisite beauty. The style is among the tersest known: every word cuts like a knife, and not a word can be spared. As the portrait of Dante is one of the most peculiar of all portraits of men of the past, so his *Divine Comedy* is a performance perfectly unique. From the time of his death till now, his name has been held in reverence by all Italians as that of their greatest countryman.

405. Next to Dante in reputation, but at a long distance, rank Petrarch and Boccaccio, both of whom belong to the fourteenth century. Petrarch, or, more fully, Francesco Petrarca, was born at Arezzo in 1304, the son of a

Florentine who had been banished along with Dante. His youth, and the greater part of his manhood, were spent at the papal court at Avignon, or in its neighbourhood; but he travelled in many parts of Europe, and concluded his life in Italy in the year 1374. He left numerous writings in Latin and Italian, but the most famous of his productions were his sonnets composed in honour of a French lady, named Laura, for whom in youth he had conceived a violent passion, which lasted during his life. The sonnets of Petrarch are among the most melodious and beautiful compositions in the Italian language, and they exercised a great influence on all subsequent Italian literature. A similar influence was exercised by the prose writings of Giovanni Boccaccio, who was an intimate friend of Petrarch, and his contemporary (1313-1375). Boccaccio wrote tales and romances, the greater part of which were in prose, and of a comic character, like the Fabliaux of the Trouvères. His *Decameron*, a collection of such tales, is still admired as one of the finest specimens of easy and elegant Italian prose. In 1373, when the Florentines, repenting their ungrateful treatment of Dante, instituted a professorship for the express purpose of expounding Dante's writings, Boccaccio was appointed to the office. He has, accordingly, left a commentary on parts of the *Divine Comedy*, and a life of Dante.

406. Although Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, were the principal figures in the literature of Italy in the fourteenth century, the same century was adorned by a considerable number of other writers, who were either Tuscans by birth, or wrote purposely in a dialect approaching as nearly as possible to the Tuscan. The fourteenth century is, accordingly, esteemed the greatest era of Italian literature. Compared with it, the fifteenth century was deficient in literary talent. Most of the eminent Italian writers of that century reverted to the use of the Latin language. Vernacular poetry of merit, however, was written by Pulci, Bello, Boiardo, Poliziano, and Lorenzo de' Medici; and prose-treatises of corresponding merit by some other authors. And at the close of this century were born several writers, who were

destined to redeem its deficiencies, and establish a literary era little less splendid than that of Dante, and Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Lodovico Ariosto, the author of *Orlando Furioso*, the most celebrated romance poem in the Italian language, was born at Reggio in 1474; and Macchiavelli and Guicciardini, who rank among the most famous of Italian prose-writers and political thinkers, were born at Florence, the one in 1469, the other in 1482. Contemporary with these writers were many more of inferior note, forming part of that galaxy of talent in all departments which illustrated the age of the later Medici, and especially the papacy of Leo X.

407. In SPAIN, as in Italy, there were various dialects of one common tongue spoken in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, besides one or two languages of a separate origin—such as the Basque and the Arabic. The modern Spanish language is a development of the dialect of Castile, of which the Portuguese was an early offshoot. (1.) *Castilian or Spanish Literature.*—The earliest specimens of Spanish literature are heroic ballads or romances, a great number of which refer to the life of the Cid, the most famous of the legendary personages of early Spanish history. These ballads are supposed to have been written about the thirteenth century; and some of them are very poetical and spirited. After the ballads, the oldest specimen of Castilian literature extant, is a rhymed chronicle of the Cid, in rude Alexandrine verse; but the first Castilian authors whose names are certainly known, were Gonzalo de Bercéo, a Benedictine monk of the latter part of the thirteenth century, who wrote some lives of saints in rhyme; and Juan Riaz, a priest of the fourteenth century, who wrote an allegorical satiric poem. The reign of Alphonso X. was an era of considerable literary activity in Castile, as that king not only wrote poetry himself, but caused many translations to be made into the vernacular. In the latter part of the fourteenth century, many Castilian nobles distinguished themselves as writers of verse—as Juan Manuel, Gonzalez de Castro, Lopez de Ayala, and Alvarez de Villasandino. In the first half of the fifteenth century, and more especially in the reign of

John II., Castilian literature received a fresh impulse from the writings of the Marquis de Villena, the Marquis de Santillana, and John of Mena, all poets of merit, as well as men of learning. During the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, there were many writers of more or less note, and the regular Spanish drama began to make its appearance. It was not till a later period, however, when Spain was brought into direct communication with other parts of Europe, and especially with Italy, that the literary efforts of the Spaniards became at all remarkable. (2.) *Portuguese Literature.*—It is believed that the Portuguese have ballads and romances older than those of the Castilians. The names of many Portuguese writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and of no fewer than a hundred and fifty of the fifteenth, are reckoned up by native historians. Some of the poets of the fifteenth century displayed considerable merit, especially in romantic pastoral poetry—a kind of literature in which Portugal claims an early pre-eminence. In that age, it was not unusual for Portuguese writers to compose both in the Portuguese and in the Castilian dialect, reserving the latter for more heroic subjects. The most flourishing epoch of Portuguese literature, however, like that of Spanish, lies nearer to our own times.

408. *Literature of the Gothic Languages.*—Under this head, three distinct literatures have to be attended to—German literature proper, or the literature of the German peoples of the continent; Scandinavian literature; and English literature.

409. Precisely as there were various dialects of the general romance language spoken in South-western Europe, so the one German or Teutonic language, spoken over that area in central Europe which was the original region of the German tribes, and which afterwards formed the GERMAN EMPIRE of Charlemagne and his successors, was broken also into numberless dialects. All these, however, belonged to one of two main divisions—the High German, spoken in Southern; and the Low German, or Saxon, spoken in Northern Germany. There are rude compositions in both these varieties of German as ancient as the

eighth century. The *Nibelungen Lied*, a kind of epic poem in ballad-measure, narrating the exploits of Dietrich of Berne, and other ancient heroes of the Germanic invasions, is supposed by some to be an aggregate of ballads originally composed at this early date. This *Nibelungen Lied*, and various other heroic poems of the same period, were first collated and printed from old manuscripts in the fifteenth century, under the title of *Heldenbuch*, or Book of Heroes—a work which the Germans regard as their Iliad. With the exception of these traditional ballads, however, and some paraphrases of Scripture, nothing of importance was produced in the German language till the twelfth century. The time of the Suabian or Hohenstauffen emperors (1138–1250) was the golden age of chivalrous German poetry. Partly from the influence of the Troubadours exerted upon Germany through Italy, partly by the independent operation in Germany of those historical causes which gave rise to the Troubadour poetry itself, there burst forth in Germany at this time a vernacular literature in all respects similar to that of the troubadours. This was the poetry of the 'Minnesingers' —a word derived from the old German *Minne*, meaning 'love.' The Minnesingers were, in fact, German troubadours, writing on similar themes, and in a similar manner. The names of about one hundred and fifty Minnesingers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are preserved, the most celebrated being those of Henry von Veldek, Walter von der Vogelweyde, Reimar the Old, and Ulrich von Lichtenstein. Many princes and knights of Germany, including the Emperor Frederick II., were proud of their reputation as Minnesingers; and, indeed, it was only at the courts of princes that this species of poetry was cultivated. When, after the period of the Crusades, it became extinct, like the poetry of the troubadours, it was succeeded by a new style of poetry, cultivated chiefly in the burghs. The inhabitants of the German burghs, escaping in a great degree from the turmoils which afflicted Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had leisure to enjoy a species of literary recreation suitable to their civic tastes and mode of life. Accordingly, there arose at this time in

the German cities a regular craft or guild of literary practitioners, called the 'Meistersingers,' organised like other trades and corporations. The poetry of the Meistersingers differed from that of their more aristocratic predecessors the Minnesingers, consisting not so much of heroic or chivalrous tales, as of comic and satiric stories referring to real life and to political circumstances. The fifteenth century abounded with these humorous productions, the most celebrated of which was the well-known *Reinecke der Fuchs* (Reynard the Fox), a satirical allegory still much admired in Germany. The author of this poem is unknown, as is also the author of the *Eulenspiegel*, or Owl-glass, another humorous poem of the same period. The Meistersingers occasionally gave a dramatic form to their compositions, and the first regular dramatic attempts in German are ascribed to some Meistersingers of Nürnberg, who produced what were called 'Carnival plays' about the year 1450. One of these Meistersingers of Nürnberg, named Hans Sachs, a shoemaker by trade, surpassed all his predecessors, both in the number and in the merit of his productions, and is entitled to be regarded as the most remarkable poet of Germany prior to the Reformation (1494–1576). His works are the best illustration of the state of the German language at that period —rough, pithy, and energetic, but not yet rendered plastic for the purposes of a refined literature, and especially of prose-writing.

410. The literature of the SCANDINAVIAN nations was even more backward than that of the continental Germans. In the earliest times, mythological legends had been current in Scandinavia; and from the fourth century downwards, the Scandinavians had a race of bards or skalds who composed heroic ballads, celebrating the exploits of the Sea-kings. These legends and ballads were handed down in a language called the Norse, once common to all Scandinavia, though spoken with varieties of dialect. Since the tenth or eleventh century, however, the Norse language has given way in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, to the modern languages of these countries, and has only been preserved in its purity in Iceland.

Accordingly, it is in Iceland that we find the most genuine remains of the old Norse literature. Here the skalds lingered longest; here, in the twelfth century, were compiled the *Eddas*, or sacred collections of the mythological legends of Scandinavia; and here, in the same century, was born a remarkable personage, named Snorro Sturleson, who wrote a history of Norway. In this or the subsequent century, however, old Norse literature comes to a close; and the literatures of modern Denmark, Norway, and Sweden do not make any appearance till the sixteenth century, such Scandinavian authors as lived in the interval having written in Latin.

411. The language introduced into GREAT BRITAIN by the Anglic and Saxon invasions of the fifth and sixth centuries, was a dialect of the Saxon or Low-German variety of the general Teutonic tongue. It was called the Anglo-Saxon, and was broken up into various local dialects, some of which differed considerably from the standard Anglo-Saxon spoken at the court and by the educated monks and clergy. In this standard Anglo-Saxon there was a considerable literature, consisting of chronicles, translations, moral and religious poems, and ecclesiastical treatises. The most celebrated Anglo-Saxon writers were —Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, of the seventh century, who wrote religious poems, shewing a powerful imagination; the Venerable Bede, of the following century, who wrote more largely in Latin; King Alfred the Great, who translated some Latin works; and Ælfric, a learned ecclesiastic of the eleventh century, who wrote sermons and homilies. There are also some Anglo-Saxon compositions of unknown or uncertain authorship, but of considerable value—as, for example, the *Saxon Chronicle*, a narrative of events in England down to the time of the Norman Conquest, composed by various hands.

412. The Norman Conquest (1066) produced an immense change in the language and literature of England. The Anglo-Saxon ceased to be the language of the court, and of all the higher classes throughout the country, its place being usurped by the Norman-French,

or *Langue d'Oui.* The king and the nobility being Normans, and all the ecclesiastical livings being filled, as soon as they became vacant, by Norman priests and monks, French was the language used for all the higher purposes of social intercourse. Even the native English learned French, and caused their children to learn it in the schools. In short, till about the year 1250, or for two centuries after the Conquest, it did not seem improbable that French would become the national tongue of Great Britain. Hardly one monarch that reigned during that time could speak a word of English; and the only literature familiar to the court and the higher classes, was the literature of the Norman Trouvères, many of whom were born in England. Meanwhile, however, the native tongue had not become extinct; it still slumbered, as it were, underneath the Norman-French, and was spoken in a multitude of local dialects by the peasantry. About the year 1250, a reaction took place in its favour; and some rude compositions appeared at this time, in a language which we can recognise as rudimentary English. This English, however, was by no means the same as the old classical Anglo-Saxon. Its vocabulary was nearly the same, but its grammatical forms were greatly simplified, so that it bore exactly the same relation to the Anglo-Saxon that the Romance bore to the Latin. Among the earliest specimens of this revived English, were a metrical chronicle of English history, by Robert, a monk of Gloucester (1250–1300); a similar chronicle, by Robert Manning, a monk of Lincolnshire; and a number of smaller songs and ballads, in imitation of the compositions of the Trouvères. None of these were of so much importance, however, as *The Visions of Piers Ploughman*, a singular satirical production, written about the beginning of the fourteenth century, by a monk of the west of England, named William or Robert Langland. At the time when this work was written, English appears to have fully asserted its rights in England against the Norman-French, which language it had begun to displace, while borrowing words from it to make good the deficiencies of its own vocabulary. The state of the language,

however, was still rude and imperfect, when Geoffrey Chaucer was born (1328–1400)—Chaucer, who ranks not only as the father of English literature, but also as one of the greatest of English poets. The most important of his works was the *Canterbury Pilgrimage*, a collection of stories supposed to be told by a number of pilgrims during a journey from London to Canterbury. For humour, grace, pathos, and the power of delineating character, this work is unrivalled in the literature of any nation. Contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with Chaucer, were John Gower, also a poet of merit, and the prose-writers Sir John Mandeville and John Wycliffe. The writings of these men and of some others, had the effect of rendering the English language thoroughly flexible for all the purposes of literature.

413. During the fifteenth century, England produced no man of literary genius equal to Chaucer. The civil wars with which the country was then distracted, were unfavourable to literary development; and with the exception of Thomas Occleve (1420), and John Lydgate (1430), who wrote poems in imitation of Chaucer, and John Skelton, a satiric poet of the reign of Henry VII. (1460–1529), there is hardly a vernacular English writer of this century worthy of mention. At this time, indeed, the literary spirit which had hovered over England so conspicuously in the age of Chaucer, seems to have forsaken that country for Scotland. Contemporary with Chaucer in this part of the island, was John Barbour of Aberdeen, who wrote a metrical history of King Robert the Bruce (1360). He was succeeded by Andrew Wyntoun, also a metrical chronicler (1350–1420); King James I., author of the *King's Quhair*, and other poems (1406–1437); Robert Henryson of Dunfermline; Blind Henry the Minstrel, author of a poem on the exploits of Wallace; Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld; and William Dunbar. The last four belong to the latter half of the fifteenth century.

414. *Slavonian Literature.*—The remains of vernacular Slavonian literature during the middle ages, are not very numerous. (1.) *Russian Literature.*—Russia had a few

native authors between the eleventh and the fifteenth century, the most important of whom were Nestor, a monk of Kieff (1056–1116), who wrote a Russian history; the unknown author of a Russian heroic poem of the twelfth century, entitled *The Expedition of Igor;* Cyprian, metropolitan of Russia, who died in 1406; and Sophronius, a clergyman of Rezan, his contemporary. The progress of Russian literature was greatly retarded by the Tatar conquests. (2.) *Polish Literature.*—The most ancient specimen of the Polish language is a hymn to the Virgin Mary, ascribed to St Adalbert, who died in 1167. Between that time and the beginning of the sixteenth century, Poland produced a considerable number of learned men, almost all of whom, however, wrote in Latin, the vernacular being used only for popular songs. (3.) *Bohemian Literature.*—This was by far the most important branch of Slavonian literature in the middle ages. There are about twenty poems, and fifty prose compositions, all of considerable merit, in the Bohemian language, prior to the time of Huss; and in the fifteenth century, the Hussite controversy gave a fresh impulse to the use of the vernacular tongue among the Bohemians.

415. In the preceding account, we have sketched the literary and intellectual progress of the West, till the close of the fifteenth century. Two facts, specially relating to the intellectual development of this fifteenth century, remain still to be noticed.

416. *The Revival of Learning.*—The fifteenth century is regarded by historians as the period of the *Revival of Learning*, by which phrase it is meant, that at this time the scholars of the various nations of Europe, whether Romance, German, or Slavonian, began to pay greater attention than before to the classic literature of the Greeks and Romans. The Latin language, as we have seen, had been always familiar to the ecclesiastics, and other learned men of these nations, who used it for their own productions. But, while thus writing in Latin, they had not much acquaintance with the classic specimens of composition in that language, bequeathed by the

Roman writers, with whom it had been a living tongue; and, indeed, many of these compositions had fallen out of sight, lost amid the rubbish of old monastic libraries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when men of poetical genius in Italy, France, Germany, and England began to use their own vernacular languages for literary purposes, the ancient Latin writers were in greater request; and manuscripts of Virgil, Ovid, Statius, and other Roman poets, began to be multiplied. Still the circle of such writers to whom scholars had access was small; while of Greek literature they had scarcely any knowledge, except what was derived from a few Latin translations, made through the medium of the Arabic. Petrarch and Boccaccio were among the first literary men in the West who studied Greek. In the fifteenth century, however, all Europe was seized with a passion for the study of ancient literature. Italy set the example. The downfall of the Greek Empire drove into Italy a great many learned Greeks of Constantinople, who brought along with them copies of the Greek classics, and established themselves in the Italian towns as teachers of the Greek language. Among these Greek scholars, the most famous were Manuel Chrysoloras, Cardinal Bessarion, Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and John Argyrophilus. Instructed by these men, the Italians pursued with zeal the study of the classical languages and antiquities, and numerous academies and libraries for the promotion of classical studies were founded throughout Italy. The monasteries of Europe were ransacked for manuscripts of the Greek and Latin classics; copies of them were multiplied, and it became the favourite occupation of men of literary taste to comment upon them. Among the Italians who distinguished themselves by their zeal in this walk, were Poggio Bracciolini, who discovered manuscripts of many lost Latin authors; Laurentius Valla, and Leonardo Aretino. Germany also produced many scholars who contributed to the revival of classical learning, the most celebrated being John Reuchlin (1455-1522), who, besides being a profound Latin and Greek scholar, was one of the first to revive

the study of the Oriental languages. Reuchlin taught Greek and Hebrew in several German universities.

417. *Invention of Printing.*—Coincident with the period when the zeal for the revival of ancient learning was at its highest—that is, about the middle of the fifteenth century—a discovery was made, whose effects, not only on this particular intellectual movement, but on the whole subsequent development of human mind and human society, it is impossible to estimate. From the earliest times, there had been but one way of publishing literary compositions — namely, by the circulation of manuscript copies. As each copy of a work had to be separately written by the pen, books were necessarily rare and expensive. In ancient Greece and Rome, indeed, where there had been a regular trade of copying manuscripts, books in constant demand were to be purchased for comparatively moderate sums. But after the fall of the Roman Empire, when learning languished, books became scarce, and the business of multiplying them devolved on the monks, who selected only such works to be copied as pleased their own tastes, and allowed the others to perish. Hence from the sixth to the thirteenth century, books were excessively dear. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, they were somewhat cheapened by the increase of the number of professional copyists, who made it their business to supply manuscripts as fast as they were wanted. There were little colonies of such copyists in all university towns. A great improvement in their trade was effected in the thirteenth century by the substitution of paper made from rags for the skins or parchment formerly used. With the advantage of this discovery, the precise date and place of which are unknown, the copyists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were able to supply the demand occasioned by the revival of learning. Still books were so expensive, that only very wealthy persons could possess a stock of them. At this time, it occurred to some obscure German mechanics that books might be multiplied in a much easier way. John Guttenberg of Strasburg, John Fust of Mayence, and Peter Schœffer of Gernsheim, are all named as the original

discoverers of this process; and it is certain that they all contributed to its perfection. For more than half a century, it had been customary to print playing-cards and fly-sheets with rough pictures and texts of Scripture on them, from single blocks of wood on which the devices had been engraved; and the idea which occurred to Guttenberg, Fust, and Schœffer, consisted simply in this—that, if movable types of wood or metal were prepared, corresponding to the letters of the alphabet, these types could be put together into blocks corresponding with the pages of books, impressions taken from the blocks to any extent, and the blocks then taken to pieces, so that the types might be used again. The perfecting of the discovery and the preparation of types cost the inventors several years and a large outlay of money, and it was not till the year 1455 that the first book issued from the press. This was a copy of the Vulgate or Latin Bible, printed by Guttenberg, Fust, and Schœffer as partners. Other books followed; the discovery, at first kept secret, was rapidly divulged; and workmen employed by the original discoverers travelled into other countries, carrying the art with them. The first printing-press in Italy was established at Subiaco in 1465; Paris possessed a printing-press in 1469; Caxton, the first English printer, established himself in Westminster in 1474; and the first Spanish press was at Barcelona in 1475. Other countries and towns followed the example; and by the year 1530, there were 200 printing-presses at work in Europe.

418. The effects of the discovery of the art of printing were twofold. In the first place, it led to the rapid multiplication of the books of previous ages. It became the life-long occupation of hundreds of scholars, to edit the classical authors of Greece and Rome—that is, to collect and collate manuscripts of them, prepare a correct text from these, and then print that text with suitable elucidations. Very soon the whole series of classical authors were thus edited out of the manuscript form; and then a similar office was performed for the more important theological works of the middle ages, and for such masterpieces of recent vernacular literature as the poems of

Dante, Petrarch, and Chaucer. But in addition to this resuscitation, as it may be called, of the literature of the past, the discovery of printing acted as a stimulus to new authorship. Hundreds of men, who would never have thought of writing books before, were now able to communicate with their fellows; and the press teemed with little pamphlets and treatises, some in Latin, some in the vernacular tongue of the writers, but all destined to produce an immediate impression either on the learned or on the general public. Some of the purity and higher grace of literature was perhaps sacrificed at first by the facility thus given to the publication of crude and confused works; but, on the whole, an intellectual fermentation was produced such as no previous era in the history of the world had witnessed. And thus it is that the half-century following the discovery of the art of printing, constitutes the period of transition from what are called the Middle Ages to modern times.



INDEX.

THE END.

Edinburgh:
Printed by W. and R. Chambers.



